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LATER LEADERS



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LATER LEADERS.

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LIVES
OF
THE LEADERS
OF
OUR CHURCH UNIVERSAL,

FROM THE DAYS OF THE SUCCESSORS OF THE
APOSTLES TO THE PRESENT TIME.

THE LIVES BY EUROPEAN WRITERS FROM THE GERMAN,

AS EDITED BY

DR. FERDINAND PIPER,
PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

NOW TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, AND EDITED, WITH ADDED
LIVES BY AMERICAN WRITERS,

BY

HENRY MITCHELL MACCRACKEN, D. D.

BOSTON:
CONGREGATIONAL PUBLISHING SOCIETY,
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1879.

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PREFACE.

SOME three years since, while I was seeking in New York city material for a volume asked of me by a Western publisher, I was met by the suggestion that I should undertake the translation into English and the editing of the lives of Christian leaders for all the days of the year, recently published in Germany under the editorship of Dr. Ferdinand Piper, of the University of Berlin.

The fact that the suggestion was made by Dr. Charles A. Briggs, of Union Seminary, to whom the work had been transmitted by Dr. Piper, with a view to its publication in America, and that both he and Dr. Philip Schaff, in repeated conversations, recommended it to me as deserving a place in every Christian family, inclined me to take up the task suggested. After letters had been exchanged with the German editor, and his consent obtained to my bringing the work out in the English language, with such changes as might seem advantageous, I began to apply myself, as my other engagements permitted, to the labor of presenting these popular yet scholarly life-stories of Christian witnesses to English readers.

The task thus entered upon presented two parts. First, the translating and editing of the lives published in Germany. Second, the adding of the life-stories of leaders in the church in America, and in certain pagan lands, passed over by Dr. Piper. To make plain what I have done under the first head, I will state briefly the origin, scope, and form of the work in the German.

In the year 1850, Dr. Ferdinand Piper offered, in a church-diet at Stuttgart, the following thesis: "The whole evangelical church in German lands is interested in forming a common roll of lives for all the days of the year, to be settled on the foundation of our common history, and thus to be made a bond of union of the churches in all the countries."

In relation to the thesis, let it be noted that the Christians of Germany

did not, at the Reformation, cast away as many of the old usages as did reformers in other countries. They did not cast away organs; nor, although they utterly put aside prayers to saints, did they abolish the connection of the names of Christian worthies of past ages with the days of the year, but preserved it even as Americans maintain the association of the name of Washington with February 22d. The forming of the roll of Christian worthies was left, however, very largely to accident. Every little German land made its own calendar. There arose great diversity, and often names were inserted upon local or political grounds. Martin Luther's was the only name universally adopted in addition to the men of the early centuries. Thus, it may be seen, there was an opportunity and also a call for such a movement as that suggested in Dr. Piper's thesis, which should present German Christians a new roll of names for their almanacs, and also a new book of lives for their Christian households, thus stimulating them to fulfill the precept, "Remember them who have spoken unto you the Word of God."

A powerful argument for giving to Germany such a roll of lives was the necessity of meeting Romanist assertions that the honored fathers and leaders of early days were papists, in the present sense of the term papist, and not rather, with all their mistakes and superstitions, evangelical or Bible Christians.

The chief argument for the book, however, was that next to God's Word, Christians, for their own edification, ought to know (to use the words of Dr. Piper) "the doings of God in the history of his Church," and "the manifestations of his Spirit in the witnesses commissioned and enlightened by Him ever since the day of Pentecost."

These and like considerations impelled Dr. Piper and other scholars to give to the German church the "improved" roll of names, and the new book of lives of church leaders. Their medium for this was at first a periodical established for this special end in 1850. This "Year Book," as it was called, presented new and correct lives of the leaders from the pens of able and eloquent writers. Dr. Neander, who died that same year, left several lives for the book, as will be seen by the present volume. The array of authors, as the table of contents will show, includes many of the most celebrated Christian scholars of Germany as well as some of France, Britain, Holland, Switzerland, and Scandinavia. For twenty-one successive years the "Year Book" continued the presentation of the lives. Finally, the roll was ended. Dr. Piper then edited the

completed biographies, which were published by Tauchnitz (1875). The work has been met with great favor by the church. The roll of names contained in it has been officially published and commended by the German government.

The considerations which weigh with German Christians are, perhaps, to be equally regarded by men of English tongue. The call for combating a false definition of the Church comes to us also. Bewildered souls seeking a house of God on earth are too often guided to an edifice whose keys are kept in Rome by the chief of an ancient, self-perpetuated corporation. Knowing as we do that the true Church has been seen ever, where any body of men has risen, "a pillar and a stay of the truth" (1 Timothy iii. 15, marginal reading), ought we not to keep this visible form of all the centuries before men's eyes, and pointing to it say, Here is the Church, the true succession of "John and Cephas, who seemed to be pillars" in every circle of faithful upholders of essential Christianity?

Do we omit from the roll of church pillars since the Reformation the Roman Catholic, the Greek, the Copt, and the Nestorian? It is not that we would deny such a place in the Church Universal. Like the Ephesian wonder of the world (which, perhaps, rose before the mind of him who, in writing to his friend in Ephesus, gave us the simile just quoted), and like its forest of shafts, each a pillar and a stay of the sheltering roof of rock, this edifice, the Church of God, incloses uncounted varieties of pillars, and all of them are truly parts of it if so be they uphold the truth of the living God. Yet Greeks, Romanists, and the rest are hardly "leading" supports of truth, nowadays, contrasted with evangelical Christians. Nor will they become so till they are cleansed of the moss and decay of the centuries. The safe rule for all who will find the Church in any age is, Find men who uphold the truth as it is in Jesus, and who gather clustering groups of columnar Christians around them, supporting the same. Here is the Church, beyond controversy.

But the main object of our German brethren, namely, to familiarize Christians "with God's doings in the history of his Church," is the chief end for us also. It may be safely affirmed that by far the larger half of Christian families have in their libraries not a word as to their church or its leaders from the end of the Acts to the annals of the Reformation, unless perhaps in some such caricature of Christianity as the volumes of Dr. Gibbon. This ignorance respecting fifteen Christian centuries is not altogether a contented ignorance. This I have proven by the following

experiment. Setting up a third church service at an unusual hour upon the Sabbath afternoon, in which besides the usual devotions was offered a brief discourse presenting “God’s doings in the history of his church,” I have for forty successive Sabbaths in a year seen assembled out of a new and busily occupied city population more hearers than attend upon the average service of Sabbath evening. Moreover the themes presented were received with marked expressions of interest from Christians of various names, and even from those not Christians. I have thus been led fully into Dr. Piper’s view that the edifying of the Church may be promoted by ministers speaking from time to time to their people of “the manifestations of God’s Spirit in witnesses commissioned and enlightened by Him all the way from Pentecost.” Whatever commendations of our Divine cause may be found in the notable lives of each century the wise believer will not neglect to offer, especially in days when if the foundations be not destroyed it will not be because they are not assailed in every mode and from every quarter.

The editor does not present in his English work all the lives included in the German. He wished to keep the book of a popular size. He considered, too, that as we are better acquainted with the Church in the Acts of the Apostles from our introduction to but a few of its leaders, so it might be here. There have been omitted, therefore, first, all lives of leaders in Bible times, a large company; second, all those peculiarly local or German; third, other lives which, hardly less interesting or important than those now offered, have been left out to make room for lives in America, Asia, Africa, and Oceanica. These last it is hoped may one day be called for by readers, and along with them others, especially of English, Welsh, and Scotch leaders, in recent centuries, which many will be surprised to miss. They are not here because not in the German. Should the call arise, the editor will strive, with help from writers in Great Britain and Ireland, to present the Lives of the Leaders in a second series.

The life-stories offered are in every instance given entire. The following changes have, however, been made to render the book more attractive. (1.) For the numerous divisions of time in the German, five periods have been substituted by the editor, of his own choosing. (2.) Portions of the lives which seemed parenthetical or of secondary importance have been placed in footnotes. (3.) At the head of each life have been set the date of the birth and of the death of the person commemorated, and also a

word indicating his position in the church, clerical or lay, or his denomination.

The title of the book I have translated very freely, preferring the second word by which Isaiah describes the servant of God to the first word in the same verse (Isaiah lv. 5, "A witness . . . ■ leader . . . to the people"), and so calling the work the Lives of the Leaders rather than the Lives of the Witnesses, the last word being somewhat worn in English literature.

For the cut-in notes, which are not in the German, I alone am responsible. They promise aid to the reader as well as add attractiveness to the page.

It remains to say something concerning the second part of my task, the adding of life-stories of leaders in America, and of pioneers in other great regions passed by in the German, namely, Africa, China, and Burmah.

The suggestion that in adding American lives I should regard denominations was given me by Dr. Schaff, and was at once accepted. To establish a fair and good rule I laid down the following: (1.) In every denomination in the United States with five hundred parishes to find one "leader." In every denomination with over three thousand parishes to find "three mighty men," and if such denomination prevailed in colonial times, to add to the three, one, two, or three others. (2.) To take no account of the division of denominations into northern and southern, and yet when taking three mighty men, to apportion them between the East, and the West and South. These rules have been followed strictly, save that the Lutheran body is given but one leader on the ground that it is so largely represented in the German.¹ The Episcopal Church is given but one, because it did not reach three thousand parishes in the statistics

¹ At the time of sending the last manuscript to the press, I found myself disappointed in reference to an expected life-story of a United Presbyterian leader. To supply its place I prepared the story of Isabella Graham. After this had been stereotyped came unexpectedly, through the courtesy of the United Presbyterian Publication House, the life of John Taylor Pressly, by his long-time associate, Rev. Dr. David R. Kerr, a theologian whose labors in church history have received a recent recognition in his election to preside over the Historical Section of the First General Presbyterian Council in Edinburgh, 1877.

This life I gladly added, as supplying what was lacking. Further, it was proposed by the secretary of the house named, that Isabella Graham be inserted as a representative of the Associate Reformed body, now merged in the United Presbyterian. At risk of seeming to transgress my rule, I therefore retain this story, moved to its retention in part by a desire to recognize woman leadership in the Church in America, as the present work recognizes it in the other hemisphere.

of 1877, though now it reports more than that number. Four denominations are each given three or more leaders, while ten have each one leader. These fourteen bodies include, as will be seen by the Table of Statistics (Appendix III.), forty-nine fiftieths of the evangelical church in the United States.

In choosing American leaders I have followed less my own judgment than that of eminent men in the respective denominations, having had correspondence upon the subject with, perhaps, fifty distinguished scholars, exclusive of the many who appear as writers.

In choosing a leader in China and other lands I have in like manner sought competent tribunals of opinion. To the many eminent men who have lent me aid in this, I here express my very great obligations.

And now in closing what has been these three years a labor of love and a recreation from other toils, I find an especial source of pleasure in the thought that this book may prove a new bond of love in the church in America, the more from the fact that it will go out bearing the imprints, each on a distinct edition, of a large portion of the denominational publication houses of this continent. In agreeing to take a part in its simultaneous issue, each of these houses courteously introduces to its own communion the leaders of other churches not as "strangers and foreigners," but as dear brethren. "Such a work" (I quote the words of the venerable Dr. Whedon, in his letter to the Methodist house approving of the plan of this book) "will be a symbol of the Church's true spiritual unity."

H. M. M.

ORANGE PLACE STUDY, *Toledo, Ohio, 1879.*

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LIFE I. MARTIN LUTHER.

A. D. 1483—A. D. 1546. CLERICAL LEADER,—NORTH GERMANY.

MARTIN LUTHER, born at Eisleben, November 10, 1483, sprang from parents lowly in position, but upright and pious. Named Martin (Martinus, or friend of Mars), from his birth on the anniversary of Martin of Tours, he was designated beforehand as a warrior,—a champion of God. Called Luther, the people's lord or ruler (Leute-herr), he was pointed out as one who should sway the hearts of mankind. A prophecy of John Huss, according to a tradition well known to Luther, had declared, "You are now roasting the goose [Huss signifying goose], but in a hundred years you will raise up the swan, whom you shall not roast nor scorch. Him men will hear sing; him, God willing, they will let live, even as they ought!"

Martin grew up under strict and often almost harsh training. He proved in youth, and afterwards, the truth of the saying, "It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth." He felt the yoke when he went to school, first in Magdeburg, to the Franciscans or poor friars, and afterwards in Eisenach. Here his devout singing of the chorals stirred the soul of the pious widow Cotta to give him his support. Gaining thus a good preparatory training, he went to the University of Erfurt (1501). His first intention was to study law; after a year, through outer occurrences which impressed him, and inward struggles arising from a desire for his soul's salvation, he was moved to devote himself to theology. Three years later (1505) he entered the ascetic ^{A monk.} order of the Augustines in their cloister at Erfurt, not from worldly want, but from zeal for religion, to the exceeding displeasure of his father. The yoke of monkish discipline and the disquiet of soul which followed impelled him to a fervid spiritual experience, and pointed

out to him as his greatest problem, How can the soul obtain the pardon of its sins? He was granted of God most excellent advice from the lips of an aged brother monk, and from John Staupitz, the chief of his order throughout Saxony. He was also blessed in the discovery of a Latin Bible, which he read most eagerly. Unmistakable leadings of God were these, preparing him for the lofty vocation to which he was appointed! When twenty-five (1508) he was summoned to the University of Wittenberg, where his especial employment was the delivery of lectures upon the Scriptures. Four years later (1512) he received the degree of doctor of theology. He then "vowed to his most dear holy Scripture, and made oath to it, to preach and to teach it most faithfully and clearly!" Light already had dawned upon him on the leading principle of Christianity,—justification through faith, without any merit of works. When he came to understand the saying, "In the gospel is the righteousness of God revealed," and that not God's own righteousness but man's righteousness in God's sight is meant, "then," as he wrote, "I felt myself wholly a new creature, and that I had found, as it were, a wide-open door to enter into Paradise itself. I beheld my precious holy Scripture as very different from what I had known it before. The whole Bible and the heavens themselves were laid open to my gaze." From this day his penetrating mind shone forth more conspicuously in his daily lectures and sermons. He had, even before the year 1517, attained a clear knowledge respecting repentance, faith, and justification. He had already, by preaching his doctrine in a sermon to the Dresden Court (1516), deeply displeased George, the duke of Saxony.

How could Luther, thus believing, be anything else but highly indignant at the trade in popish indulgences carried on by Tetzel? How could he be otherwise than disturbed in his conscience? He preached upon it in the castle church of Wittenberg, and got little favor from the elector Frederick for so doing. He felt himself still urged on by the growing imprudence with which the indulgences were circulated, and by their corrupting influences. He was impelled, upon the 31st of October, 1517, to post up his ninety-five theses, maintaining the gospel way of obtaining remission of sins. He accompanied them with a challenge to a discussion, on November 1st, the Day of All Saints, when great crowds of pilgrims were to come to the castle church (Church of All Saints) to receive indulgences. Though he anticipated it not, these theses proved flashes of lightning which kindled a flame through the Christian church, and spread as if the angels themselves were carrying them. Nor could Luther be moved to retract them, either by the vehement threats of cardinal Thomas Cajetan, or by the courtly arts and craft of Charles von Miltiz. To the former's question as to where he would live when nowhere tolerated, the answer of Luther was, "Under the broad heaven." He proceeded (November 28, 1518)

to offer in the Corpus Christi chapel of Wittenberg a formal appeal from the proceedings against him by pope Leo Tenth to a general council. He even went (December 10, 1520), with his students attending him, outside the Elster gate of the city, and there burned the pope's book of decretals and his bull against himself, with the words, "Because thou hast vexed the Holy One of the Lord, may everlasting fire vex and consume thee." No vindictive feeling, but a holy impulse, inspired Luther to this bold act. He gave a signal to Christendom no longer to fear the pope, but to condemn his power and cast off his yoke. He acted for the cause of truth and the confirming of the common people.

Luther was led on to Worms by a like spirit. Admonished beforehand of the fate which befell Huss, he replied that if they should kindle a fire all the way from Wittenberg to Worms that would reach to the sky, he would appear there, because he had been summoned; he would enter the mouth of behemoth between his great teeth to confess Christ, and let God order the result. Again, when he received, not far from the city of Worms, a warning from even his friend Spalatin against entering, he answered, "Were there as many devils in Worms as there are tiles on the roofs, I would still enter!" How the heart of Luther was stirred at that period, and yet how full of repose in God, appears from his prayer in Worms: "O God! O God! O Thou my God! Stand Thou by me, my God, against all the reason and the wisdom of the world. Do this. Thou must do it,—Thou alone. The cause is not mine, but thine. For myself, I have here no business nor aught to do with these great lords of the world. I would rather have peaceful days and live undisturbed. But the cause is thine, and it is righteous and everlasting. Help me, Thou true, eternal God. I lean upon no man. Vain and useless were it. Tottering is all that is fleshly or that savors of the flesh. O God! O God! Hearest Thou not, my God? Art Thou dead? No, Thou canst not die. Thou dost but hide Thyself. Hast Thou chosen me for this work? I ask Thee. Do not I know it! Aye, God has ordered it, for I never my life long thought to stand against such great lords. I never purposed it. O God! help me in the name of thy loved son, Jesus Christ, my defense, my buckler, aye, my strong fortress, through the power and strength of thine Holy Spirit! Lord, where art Thou? Thou, my God, where art Thou? Come! come! I am ready to lay down my life, patient as a lamb. For the cause is holy: it is thine own. I will not let Thee go,—no, nor yet for all eternity. That resolve is fixed in thy holy name. The world must leave me unconstrained in my conscience; and though it were thronged with devils, and this body, which is the work of thy hands and thy creature, be cast forth, trodden under foot, cut in pieces, thy word and Spirit remain good to me. And it is only the body! The soul is thine. It belongs to Thee. It will abide with Thee eternally. Amen! O God, help me. Amen!"

The God to whom Luther prayed was with Luther, and lent him courage to stand fast by the truth, and to present before emperor and empire words of confession which transcend many deeds of great heroes: "Unless, therefore, I am convinced through proofs from the Holy Scripture, am vanquished in a clear manner through the very passages which I have cited, and my conscience imprisoned thus by the Word of God, I neither can nor will retract anything. Here I stand. I can do nothing else. God help me. Amen!"

And yet Luther was so frank as to say in a letter to Hartmuth von Cronberg (February, 1522), "This fine sport which Satan has got up in Wittenberg [the image breaking] has happened for a punishment to me, because when I was at Worms, I, in order to serve good friends, and that I might not appear too stubborn, suppressed my spirit, and would not make my confession before tyrants more pointed and severe. For which cause since that time I have often had to endure evil speeches from the false and ungodly. Many times have I repented of this same humility and reverence of mind." Luther painfully felt the way in which the German nation debased itself, and, in order to please the pope, thrust from itself gospel truth and freedom.

Placed under the ban of the empire for Rome's sake, he was carried by the elector Frederick the Wise, who saw him in Worms for the first and only time, to the Wartburg, as a secure asylum. In this fortress, Translates the his Patmos, he began the work of translating the Bible. His task, entered upon by him alone with God, and pushed forward with faithful, untiring industry, was completed in 1534. The book breathes the spirit of God; for its writer drank in the spirit of the Scriptures in its fullest measure. Thus the German Bible is filled with a power like that of the original itself.

In March, 1522, Luther felt constrained, in order to save his people from fanatical disturbances, to hasten back to Wittenberg. He did so even against the will of the elector. He did not share the latter's forebodings, but wrote him, "I am repairing to Wittenberg, under a protection more powerful than that of an elector. I have no thought of soliciting the aid of your electoral highness. I indeed hold that I shall protect your highness more than your grace can protect me. If I knew that your highness could or would take up my defense, I would not come to Wittenberg. This matter the sword neither can nor ought to handle or cure. God alone must do this, without any human counsel or aid. Therefore, he who believes most strongly will here render the most assistance. Because I perceive that your highness is yet very weak in the faith, I cannot count your grace the one to protect or deliver me!"

By his zeal and kindness, Luther was soon able to quiet the disturbances in Wittenberg. He exerted himself with like ability in the quelling of the peasant insurrection, bearing witness to the duty of Christians to

be subject to their rulers, and against the crime of insurrection. He insisted on the founding of schools, furthered a visitation of the churches, and gave to the teachers and the people a catechism, that gem of his pen, which expresses the clear, evangelical doctrine with such lively Christian faith and yet child-like heartiness.

Entering into marriage in 1525, he himself relates to us his reasons: "I have not taken a wife because I expected to live a long time, but that my doctrine might be confirmed by my example, and to comfort weak consciences after me, and that I might retain naught of my old papistical life." Further, he was influenced to marry by his father's desire, and by his recognition of the sacredness of the married condition. Besides, Catharine von Bora came, meeting him with her love.

When the Reichstag met in Augsburg (1530) Luther stayed in Coburg, helping Melancthon especially by his counsel and comfort, and by his strong prayers, as once Moses gave help by his uplifted arms.

The latter years of Luther's life passed amid toils and conflicts. At one time his anxieties led him, after going away from Wittenberg (1545), to write to his wife, whom he had left behind, "I would gladly arrange it so that I might not have to return to Wittenberg. My heart has grown cold, so that I no more like to be there. I wish that thou wouldest sell the garden, with hoof, house, and yard [*huf, haus, und hof*]. After my death the four elements will not allow thee to be in Wittenberg. It were better, then, to do what will have to be done, during my life." Nevertheless he was constrained to return thither. But the end of his life was drawing near. He went (1546), at the desire of the counts of Mansfeld, to Eisleben, arriving January 23d. He had first preached in Wittenberg (January 17th), with forebodings of his end, exhorting his people to constancy in the faith and against apostasy. Reaching his former place of abode, he said, "If I can but reconcile my loved lords, the counts of Mansfeld, here in Eisleben, to each other, I will go home, lay me down in my coffin, and give my body to the worms to devour." He preached in Eisleben four times (January 31st, February 2d, 7th, and 12th). One prayer and hope had often been uttered by him. As he says, "I have with great earnestness prayed God, and do now pray Him every day, that He would hinder the design of the foe, and suffer no war to come upon Germany in my life-time; and I am assured that God has certainly heard this my prayer, and I know that while I live there will be no war in Germany." His desire was granted him. There was fulfilled in him the saying, "The righteous is taken away from the evil to come." He fell ill on the 17th of February. Last illness and death. Feeling his end approaching, he prayed, "O my Father, God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Thou God of all comfort, I thank Thee that Thou hast revealed to me thy dear Son Jesus Christ, in whom I believe,

whom I have preached and confessed, whom I have loved and praised, whom the evil pope and all the ungodly dishonor, persecute, and revile. I pray Thee, my Lord Jesus Christ, that my soul may be dear to Thee. O heavenly Father, if it be so that I must leave this body and be torn away from this life, yet know I surely that I shall ever abide with Thee, and none shall pluck me out of thine hand." He repeated the words, "God so loved the world that he gave his Son," and "He that is our God is the God of salvation, and unto God the Lord belong the issues from death." He added thrice, "Into thine hand I commit my spirit. Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth." And when Justus Jonas said to him, "Reverend father, will you die steadfast, clinging to Christ and to the doctrine which you have so constantly preached?" he answered emphatically, "Yes!" Soon after he fell asleep, on the morning of February 18th. Let my soul die the death of this righteous man, and my last end be like his!

Let us venture a look into the soul of this man of God. Its grand features are truth, faithfulness, faith. His was a Nathanael's soul, free from guile, hypocrisy, or double dealing. His heart lay open before all men. His speech was the perfect expression of his soul. Even the man who has little perception of what constitutes sincerity and loyalty must be impressed by this in Luther's discourses. If uprightness and honesty be German characteristics, what German has ever possessed them in Luther's relig- ion. greater measure than Luther? Yet in Luther the German was thoroughly lost in the Christian. His was a genuine, hearty faith. His very being was penetrated with the truth of God's Word, and especially with the truth of Jesus Christ and the glory of his holiness. His faith was a part of himself, the very spring of his thought and life. To impute to the Scripture or to Christ falsehood or deception would have been to him a fearful crime; his whole nature would have revolted from it. Hence his firm, immovable position on God's Word as on the eternal rock. The very essence of this Word to him was the sinner's reconciliation through Christ, his pardon, his justification before God through faith without works. But faith with him was a thing of life and power, nay, the fountain of all life and all power. Distrust of faith as he taught it will never be felt by those who consider what that faith wrought in Luther and by him. Nor did he deprecate good works, but only their use in the service of pride, ignorance, and vanity. His faith grew from his profound recognition of human depravity and weakness. "It is the property of God to make something out of nothing. Therefore of him who is not yet nothing God cannot make anything. Man out of something makes something; but it is a vain, useless work. Therefore God receives only the forsaken; heals only the sick; gives sight only to the blind, life only to the dead, penitence only to sinners, and wisdom only to the foolish." Luther's faith was Luther's power and symmetry. It

gave him his work and his consciousness that he was called of God. He says, "To a good work a man goes by a certain call of God, not by a setting apart of himself to it, or by what he would call his own plan." It is certain that Luther did not undertake the reformation of his own fancy. "That unawares and with no thought or purpose of my own I am come into this dispute and quarrel, I call God himself to witness." If any man's work may be counted pure, then may Luther's. Who makes so little of his own name or of himself as "chief"? He declares, "Let them attack my person who will, and as they will! I am no angel. But my doctrine, since I know that it is not mine but God's, I will suffer no man to attack unresisted." He testifies frankly, "For myself, I know not Luther; I will not know him! I preach not him, but Christ. Him the devil may take if he can, if he but leave Christ in peace." Of the purity and candor of him who sinks thus his own personality, his "I," we have the fullest assurance.

Luther's faith and assurance of his divine vocation gave him also his heroic courage. His work led him into the severest conflicts. He challenges his foes: "Come on, then, all together, as you are together and belong together, devils, papists, and fanatics, all in a heap! Up and at Luther! Ye papists from before, ye fanatics from behind, ye devils from every quarter, track, hunt, pursue, sure that you have the game in front of you! If Luther falls, you will have joy and victory. I see clearly that it is all lost trouble; there is nothing won by scolding, by teaching, by admonition, by threat, by promise, by entreaty, by supplication, by patience, by humility, by pretending or coaxing! Whatever I try, however I change or turn, it is of no avail!" He took this opposition as a good sign. "If the world were not vexed at me, I should then have to be vexed at her and afraid that what I was doing was not of God. Now that she is offended at me, I must be strengthened, comforted, and assured that my enterprise is right and of God."

He met conflict within; and, as a wise Christian to whom the power of the prince of darkness is no fiction, he deemed that Satan was using his weapons against him, and hurling fiery darts into his soul. He makes confession: "Oh, would God — would God that my foes could experience for a quarter hour the misery of my heart; how surely I could affirm that they would be changed and saved! But enough of this, lest I be impatient of the chastening of God, who smites and heals, kills and makes alive. Blessed be his holy pleasure and his perfect will! Surely one so hated of the world and its prince must be pleasing to Christ. If we were of the world, the world would love its own."

Luther also tasted deeply the comfort of the Holy Spirit. "What does it concern me if the world calls me a devil, if I know that God calls me his angel? Let the world call me a seducer as long as it pleases,

while God calls me his faithful minister and servant, the angels call me their comrade, the saints call me their brother, the faithful call me their father, the distressed call me their saviour, the ignorant call me their light; and God to all this says, Yes! And it may be the angels say it too, and all creatures! What triumph, forsooth, has the world over me now? What great harm has it done me?" Clear sun-gleams are these into the soul of Luther, showing its lowest depths, disclosing the solid rock of his assurance of God's love. We may know whence came the hardy courage by which he cried, "In God's name and at his call I will tread on the lion and the adder; the young lion and dragon will I trample under foot! It shall be begun in my life, and accomplished after my death!" It was the same courage which gushed forth in his hymn, "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott," with an overflowing tide of heroic song.

Would it have been a strange thing if his boldness had induced ^{Luther's child-like spirit.} arrogance? But instead Luther excels in child-like humility and simplicity. He had not a mock humility which would make him disclaim powers which were possessed by him. But true humility and simplicity shine brightly forth in him. He never boasted of divine inspirations; he drew from the Word of God alone. He did not count himself authorized to preach in places other than those to which he was expressly called. He was compelled almost against his will to write much; and what a treasure of Christian truth is laid up in his writings! Yet he wished that all his books might perish, if they were to lessen in any degree the reading of the Holy Scriptures. He judged that it was hardly according to the New Testament to write many books. The Apostles had written few, and before they wrote they had preached personally to the people, and had converted them. For his part, "if he had been able, in his whole life, with all his powers, to make one single person better, he was ready to thank God and let all his writings after that perish."

How courteous and friendly Luther was to every one, all who knew him bore witness. He makes, in fact, this notable confession: "I am warned, and not only by my fellow-townsman, but by letters out of many countries, that I should not make myself so common to everybody, and I blame my too abject spirit. I have also often resolved that to oblige the world I would make myself somewhat more grave or more saintly (I hardly know how to express it), but God has never granted me the gift of accomplishing it." The words of Christ, "Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven," were verified in Luther. He was from first to last a child-like spirit. He once exhorted his congregation, "Let none be ashamed of 'Our Father,' of the Ten Commandments, or the Creed. Let us stay with the children, and we will assuredly never be lost. God help us so to do. Amen!"

Could a man like this be lacking in love? His life was full of love. The Reformation was a work of love as truly as a work of faith. From love to the poor misled Christian people he undertook his difficult task. He knew something of the sorrow which Christ felt over the fainting and scattered flock. He gladly served all, and shared what he had with all, though he was not rich. He loved his friends; he loved his wife and children. Let the charming letter witness which he wrote from Coburg to his little John (see page 276, note 2). Those who have denied him the gentle qualities of the heart should hear what he has written on the word "liebe" (meaning both love and beloved): "Whoever knows German knows well what a hearty, fine old word it is, the 'liebe' Mary, the 'liebe' God, the 'liebe' prince, the 'liebe' man, the 'liebe' child. I know not that the Latin or any other language can utter the word 'liebe' with the heartiness and satisfaction which belong to it in our German tongue, as it pierces and tingles the heart and all the feelings."

But the violence of his language against his opponents? His unyielding manner towards men of different opinions? What, ^{Luther's violence.} forsooth, would the mildness, moderation, anxious timidity, of a Melancthon have done against the foe? The popish beast could be beaten only by a club such as Luther wielded. Erasmus himself acknowledged, "God has given the world in these last times, when great and sore plagues and diseases have increased, a severe, sharp physician." He held stoutly to his belief because it was to him a matter of conscience. He wrote to Capito, "My love is ready to die for you, but whoever touches the faith touches the apple of my eye; impose what you will upon our love, but beware of our faith in all things." To Bucer: "You will ascribe it not to my stubbornness, but to my genuine conviction and the necessity imposed by my faith in matters in which you would honestly act otherwise, that I must refuse assent to this agreement." In 1538 he wrote, "Just as strongly as our opponents insist on unity of loving do we insist on unity of teaching and of believing. If they will leave us that uninjured, we will praise the unity of love as much as they, but in all cases without detriment to the unity of the faith and of the spirit. For if thou lose that, thou hast lost Christ. If He be gone, then indeed the unity of love will be of no profit. But on the other hand, if thou preserve the unity of the spirit and of Christ, it hurts thee not if thou art not at one with such as pervert and debase the word, and thus destroy the unity of the spirit. Therefore, rather will I let not only these but the whole world fall away from me and be mine enemies than that Christ fall away and be made mine enemy. And this would happen if I should let go his clearly revealed word, and follow their vague dreams, wherein they force the words of Christ to their own meaning. To me the one Christ is more and grander than all the unnumbered onenesses of love."

A chosen instrument of God was Luther, whose equal had not been known in Christendom since the days of Paul. He was the chief combatant and champion against the power which held the world bound; all its hate he drew upon his head. He was the restorer of the pure evangelic doctrine, revealing its source to all by his Bible. Luther's Bible became to the church universal not only the occasion of new versions, but their fountain. Luther was the apostle of the German nation. He glories in Germany. "Nothing," he says, "has ever been told so much to the praise of us Germans—nothing, I believe, has ever exalted and preserved us—as people's saying that we are a sincere and constant folk, whose yea is yea, and whose nay nay. We have yet a spark (may God cherish and increase it!) of the ancient virtue, so far, at least, that we are still a little ashamed and displeased to be called hypocrites, although foreign and Greek ill-breeding is gaining a hold." This last fact made Luther call the Germans the apes of all other nations; he said, "We Germans are such fellows that whatever is new we take and stick to it like fools. Let a man try to turn us from it, and he will only make us more crazy after it." Half a thousand years earlier, abbot Siegfried of Goerz had made complaint, in a letter to Poppo, the monkish reformer, of the German aping of the French. Who cured the German nation of this folly as Luther, in whom shone forth the pure German? By him the German people obtained the Bible. By his mighty preaching the German people were taught the gospel. By his hymns the German heart was inspired with celestial truth, for music was with Luther a consecrated art, a second theology. When Luther struck the chord, it resounded in a thousand songs. Where in the church is such a treasure of holy song as was gathered by Luther? The German church is a Croesus in psalmody.

Would that Luther's word could be listened to; would that German thought and Christian sentiment could blend in this nation, as they blended in Luther! Then would Germany be new born. But if his word dies out, Germany's glory is gone. Would that Germany could again be taught how great a gift God bestowed on her when He gave Luther! — L. H.

LIFE II. MAGDALENA LUTHER.

A. D. 1529—A. D. 1542. CHILD-LEADER, — NORTH GERMANY.

ON May 4, 1529, Martin Luther is writing a letter on business to his friend, Nicholas Amsdorf, pastor in Magdeburg. By his side, in excellent spirits, is his wife, Catharine von Bora, who three hours later is given a little daughter. The next morning the happy father tells his friend, with thanks to God, of the joyful event, and begs him to stand godfather.

He writes, "Most estimable, worthy sir: God, the father of all goodness, has been graciously pleased to make me and my dear Katie a present of a little daughter. I beg you, therefore, for God's sake, to take upon yourself the Christian office of a father in Christ to the poor little heathen, and assist her to become a Christian through the venerable and divine sacrament of baptism." This daughter was Magdalena, in whose soul God found great delight, and so hastened to remove her from this evil world; for she had not completed her fourteenth year, when the Lord who gave her took her to heaven by a gentle death.

Luther's household, into which Magdalena was born, was then an established fact. Luther had learned from God's Word that to forbid marriage was contrary to the will of the Lord, his Creator, and that monastics vows, whether taken from constraint or in ignorance, were wrong, and not binding upon the conscience; marriage was a holy state ordained by God, and having the promise of his blessing. He had therefore unfettered the consciences of priests, monks, and nuns from their vows of celibacy, as early as the winter of 1522, when he abode in the Wartburg. Many of them had married before Luther, who was anticipating an early death for himself, had thought of taking the step. Finally, when left alone in his Augustine cloister with the prior Eberhard Brisger, who was also preparing to leave him, Luther made up his mind to quit the deserted abode, first, however, delivering it over to his sovereign. Before this he had turned it into a resting-place for poor pilgrims, who were suffering for the sake of the gospel. After the death of Frederick the Wise (May 5, 1525), his brother and successor, John the Constant, presented the monastery with its garden to Luther. It was a rambling, tumble-down place, which required rebuilding and constant repair, and then only a third part could be made habitable. Thus the cloister became Luther's home. Thither, on June 13, 1525, he conducted Catharine von Bora as his wife. Shortly before this date (June 2d), he had written the elector Albert, ^{Luther's house-keeping.} archbishop of Mainz, exhorting him to marry, and make a princedom of his bishopric, and give up the false name and appearance of a spiritual potentate. Though Luther looked at marriage soberly, knowing its crosses and cares, he was untiring in sounding its praise: "But this state," he says, "is for a pious and God-fearing person." Then he goes on to say, "There can be no more lovely, affectionate, and gracious relationship, communion, and companionship than a good marriage, in which husband and wife live in peace and unity. On the other hand, nothing can be more bitter and painful than this bond, mutually broken and severed. The next worst thing is the loss of children, which I have experienced."

Luther was called upon to part with two of his children by death. When Magdalena died, he had already lost one daughter, Elizabeth, but

the blow was less painful, because at her death she was hardly a year old. The stone which covers her grave is preserved to this day in the old church-yard of Wittenberg. Close by lies a granddaughter of Melancthon. Magdalena was sent to the sorrowing parents instead of their dear Elizabeth, just nine months after her death, and was an extremely sweet and loving child, gentle and obedient. For two years and a half she was, excepting their eldest-born John, their only child,¹ and when Luther was on his travels he seldom forgot, in writing to his wife Katie, to send greetings to his two children, Hänschen and Lenchen, as well as to their cousin Lena. When he, at the time of the Augsburg Reichstag, 1530, where the confession was made, was staying in Coburg, he wrote the charming letter, so well known, to his four-year-old John, about the children's paradise of which he had a vision.² Lenchen was too young for him to write to her, being little more than a year old.

We are not at all sure that she did not have to thank her cousin Lena for her name; the latter is first mentioned by Luther in a letter of February 15, 1530, as one of his family. This often-named cousin Lena was an orphaned young woman, a daughter of Luther's sister, who was taken by him into his home, and proved a great help to his wife, till she married (November 27, 1538) a worthy friend of Luther, Ambrose Bernd, of Jüterbog, treasurer in Wittenberg, by whom she was left a widow (in January, 1542). Luther often called to mind the death of Ambrose, who was a devout man, and departed out of this world well prepared, quietly falling asleep without a taste of death's bitterness. He wished many times that he might slumber at last as gently

¹ Luther had six children: 1. John, born June 7, 1526. 2. Elizabeth, December 10, 1527; died August 3, 1528. 3. Magdalena, May 4, 1529; died September 20, 1542. 4. Martin, November 7, 1531. 5. Paul, January 28, 1533. 6. Margaretha, December 17, 1534.

² The letter is as follows: "Mercy and peace in Christ, my dear little son. I am glad to hear that you learn your lessons well, and pray faithfully. Go on doing so, my child, and when I come home I will bring thee a pretty present."

"I know a very beautiful, delightful garden, and in it are a great many children, all dressed in little golden coats, picking up nice apples under the trees, and pears, and cherries, and plums. And they sing and jump about, and are very merry; and besides, they have beautiful little horses, with golden bridles and silver saddles. Then I asked the gardener whose garden it was, and who were these children. He said, 'These are children who love to pray, who learn their lessons and are good.' Then I said, 'Dear sir, I have a little son called John Luther; may he come into this garden, too, to eat such apples and pears, and ride on these beautiful little ponies, and play with these children?' And the man said, 'If he loves to pray, learns his lessons, and is good, he may, and Lippus and Jost, too [little sons of Melancthon and Justus Jonas]; and when they all come together, they shall have pipes, drums, lutes, and all sorts of music, and shall dance, and shoot with little bows and arrows.'

"And he showed me a fair lawn in the garden, made ready for dancing. There were pipes of pure gold, drums, and silver bows and arrows. But it was so early that the children had not had their breakfasts. So I could not wait for the dancing, and said to the man, 'Oh, my dear sir, I will go away at once and tell all this to my little John, that he may be sure to pray and to learn well and be good, that he also may come into the garden. But he has a dear aunt Lena; he must bring her with him.' Then said the man, 'Let it be so; go and write him this.'

"So, my dear little son John, learn thy lessons, and pray with a glad heart, and tell all this to Lippus and Justus, that they too may learn their lessons and pray. Then you will all come together to this garden. Herewith I commend you to the Almighty God; and greet aunt Lena, and give her a kiss from me. Thy dear father, MARTIN LUTHER."

and happily. Luther was at that date (1542) much occupied with the thought of his own death, and made his will, little thinking that his loved daughter would precede him and go that very year. So God had determined it.

The first of September, Magdalena was taken seriously ill. Her brother John, the playmate of her childhood, now a youth of sixteen, had several years before this been sent away from home, which the constant stream of friends and visitors made a most unquiet place, to Luther's faithful friend, Marcus Crödel, at Torgau. Hence he did not know of his sister's illness. Luther therefore wrote the following letter:—

“Grace and peace to my dear friend, Marcus Crödel. Please do not let my son John know what I am now writing. My daughter Magdalena is at the point of death, and will soon be at her heavenly Father's right hand, unless God otherwise orders things. She has such a longing desire to see her brother that I must send the carriage for him. They have always been so fondly attached that perhaps she may rally again at the sight of him. I do what I can, that my conscience may not hereafter reproach me for neglecting anything. Therefore, please let him come at once in the carriage, without telling him the reason why. He shall soon return to you, whether she die in the Lord or be once more given back to us. Fare thee well in the Lord. Only tell him that it is a secret which he shall know as soon as he comes to us. All the rest are well.”

For fourteen days the loved child hovered between life and death. Once, during this period, Luther said, “I love her very dear, and would like to keep her, if Thou, O Lord God, wouldst leave her with me; but if it is thy will, dear Lord, to take her to Thyself, I shall rejoice in knowing that she is with Thee.” And to the child he said, “Magdalena, child, my precious little daughter, thou wouldst like to remain here with thy father; and thou wouldst also willingly go to that Father above, wouldst thou not?” “Yes, dear, darling father [Herzensvater], as God wills,” she answered. When she lay in the last agony, he fell down on his knees in her chamber, by her bedside, weeping bitterly, and prayed God to release her. She fell asleep September 20th, at nine o'clock in the evening. The night before her death her mother had a dream that two beautiful youths were come to conduct Magdalena to a wedding. When Philip Melanthon, the next morning, heard of this dream, he said, “The young men are the good angels who will come and conduct this young maiden into the kingdom of God, to the real marriage.” And indeed it was so, for she was a true child of grace, as Luther, though with the father's heart in him deeply smitten, yet strong in faith and with Christian resignation, acknowledged to his friend Justus Jonas (September 23d): “You will have heard,” he writes, “that my dear daughter Magdalena is born again into the everlasting

Luther by his
child's death-
bed.

kingdom of Christ. My wife and I, it is true, ought only to give thanks to God, and rejoice at so happy an issue and blessed departure, whereby she is saved from the power of the flesh, and from this world of the Turk and the devil; but natural love is so strong that we cannot say this without many tears and sighs; indeed, we are almost broken-hearted. For the thought of our pious, obedient daughter, her looks, her words, her whole being, as she was in life and death, is too deeply imprinted on our hearts, even for the death of Christ (and what is the death of all men compared to his?) to chase away all grief, as it should. Therefore, sing thou praises to God in our stead. For He has truly wrought a mighty work of grace in us, in that he hath so glorified our own flesh. You know how gentle and caressing and overflowing with love she was. Praised be our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, who hath called, elected, and highly glorified her. Oh, that to me, and to all of us, may be granted such a death, or rather such a life! This is all that I beg God, the father of all comforts and all mercies, to bestow upon us." Somewhat later he writes to Magdalena's godfather, Amsdorf, to thank him for a letter of condolence: "Yes, I loved her dearly, not only because she was my own flesh, but because she had such a gentle, patient disposition, and was so child-like in her submission to me. But now I rejoice that she lives with her Father, and sweetly sleeps till that day. And as our times are bad, and will grow worse, so do I wish for myself and all mine, also for you and all yours, such a last hour, so full of faith and sweet peace; this were indeed sleeping in the Lord, neither seeing nor tasting death, nor experiencing the least particle of fear."

With words not unlike these Luther also went through the sad offices His child's fu- connected with the burial of his loved one. When her neral. body was laid in the coffin, he said, "My dear Lenchen, how happy art thou now!" Then gazing on her, as she lay there, he went on, "Ah, thou dear Lenchen, thou wilt rise again, and shine forth as a star, nay, as a sun." The coffin having been made too short, he said, "The bed is too small for her, because she is dead" (the body had lengthened in death); adding, "The heart indeed rejoices, but the flesh mourns and weeps. The flesh cannot consent; the parting is difficult to bear, beyond measure. How wondrous that we know and are sure that she is so well and at peace, yet we are so sad!" When the people came to the funeral, and offered him condolence, after their wont, he replied, "Ye should be glad that I have sent a saint to heaven; yes, a living saint. Oh, if we could only die such a death! Such a death I would willingly accept this very hour." When one said, "That is true, yet we would all like to retain our loved ones here," Luther answered, "Flesh is flesh, and blood is blood. I am rejoiced that she is yonder. The sorrow that overcomes me is of the flesh." When the coffin was covered with earth, he said, "There is a resurrection of the body." When they returned from

the burial, “ My daughter is now provided for, both in soul and in body. We Christians have no cause for sadness. We know, too, that these things must be so. We are most certainly assured of the life eternal, for God, who cannot lie, has promised it through and for the sake of his dear Son.” When the mother wept and sobbed, and could not be comforted, he said to her, “ Dear Katie [Käthe], think whither she has gone. She is well off! But flesh and blood must be flesh and blood, after their own sort. The spirit is alive and willing. Children do not dispute, but as they are told, so they believe. With children all is plain. They die without pang or fear,— no disputing or struggling with death, no pain of body,— as if they were falling asleep.” When his son John weakly cherished his feelings, weeping a great deal and writing mournful letters from Torgau, making his mother’s heart heavy, Luther sent him grave, fatherly admonition.

In all this home picture there is nothing extravagant, nothing artificial; nothing of that idolatry of the flesh which is often seen in the midst of the refined, secular culture of our times; nothing of sanctimoniousness, suppressing the God-created feeling of our natures, but the divine life and the human heart appear in their true relations one to another in all simplicity and truth. Faith keeps a rein upon the flesh by the power of God’s Word. Nature denies not her weakness, which through grace is sanctified, not obliterated,— rather, by renewed innocence, is touchingly glorified. Whoever reads this story, and visits the home of Luther, in Wittenberg, let him, while contemplating the great reformer, also call to mind his daughter Magdalena, so early called away, and her child-like, loving words: “ Yes, Herzensvater, as God wills.” — H. E. S.

LIFE III. PHILIP MELANCTHON.

A. D. 1497—A. D. 1560. LAICAL LEADER,—NORTH GERMANY.

LUTHER in one place says that never in the progress of God’s kingdom has there come any great revolution without the way being prepared by a revival of letters and of languages, even as John the Baptist prepared the way for Christ. This holds good respecting the preparation for the divine work of the Reformation in Germany. Two agencies were needed to open the way for it. One was the religious life gushing from the depths of the devout hearts of the Mystics; for from among those enlightened Christians came John Staupitz, to influence, directly, the mind of Martin Luther. The other was the revival of letters, rising with Erasmus of Rotterdam, by which the knowledge of the Greek language was restored and the New Testament given to students in its original language. These two causes, which together helped prepare the way for the Reformation,

will be found repeatedly exerting their influence as the Reformation goes on. The thorough religious enthusiasm of Luther must unite with the thoughtful, clear, profound learning of Melancthon, who is an Erasmus transfigured, his heart purified and filled with evangelic fire.¹

Philip Schwarzerd (black earth) was the name, in the German, of the great man whose memory this story is designed to celebrate. By the usage of the times, it was translated into Greek, Melancthon, or, as it was written by him for the sake of euphony, Melanthon. He was born at Bretten, in Baden, February 16, 1497. There was a preparer of the Reformation, John Reuchlin, who had been of great service by restoring the study of the Hebrew and of the Old Testament in the original, as well as by combating the Dominicans and the Inquisition. To him Melancthon was related. To his care the young Philip became largely indebted for his training. Melancthon is to be counted with the great men who, maturing early, show in youth the very tendencies which are to distinguish their lives, and who still do not grow old soon, but go on toiling and originating with the strength of youth to the very last. It was speedily recognized by Erasmus that Melancthon would one day eclipse him.

Melancthon while still a youth found his field of labor in Wittenberg.² Called to Wittenberg. He was to translate into the language of science what was revealed by the Spirit to the mighty, apostle-like Luther. He was to mould and confirm the same. He was to produce a learning inspired of God, which should accept as its loftiest task the searching of the depths of God's Word, in humble submission. He was to fathom ever more deeply the exhaustless treasures of wisdom which are hidden in Christ. When Wittenberg, on Reuchlin's recommendation, gave him his call, he was just twenty-one. The youth hesitated to leave his native land to devote himself to so difficult a work in a strange country. He was reminded then by his kinsman Reuchlin of God's word to Abraham: "Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee." The relation which sprang up between Luther and Melancthon, the man and the youth,—the fatherly love of the elder and the child-like, enthusiastic devotion of the younger,—was from the very first beautiful. When Luther stood in

¹ When Christ awakes new evolutions or creations He employs characteristics — twofold, at least — which shall be complements of one another. When a work of God is to be done, it is to be understood that He who appoints the end will, by his manifold wisdom, also bring together all the means required for the attainment of the end. By this, then, is the German Reformation shown to be a work prepared of God, that by the side of the older Luther the younger Melancthon was placed, so that when by the creative religious enthusiasm of Luther the first excitement was enkindled, a scientific expression might be given it by the aid of Melancthon.

² In accord with the ancient national characteristic of Germany, — that religion should be the soul and centre of culture, and that all great intellectual achievements should spring from minds touched by Christ, — the higher schools were formed into work-shops of the Holy Ghost; the young spirits were appropriated by Him, along with their power in literature, which He would use as his own voice. Wittenberg accepted such a vocation, and was the first seat of the German Reformation.

great peril, after the Reichstag at Augsburg (1518), he wrote to Melancthon : "Act the man, as thou dost always. Teach the youth what is right. I go to sacrifice myself for them and for thee, if it please God so." Melancthon was warmed and kindled by Luther's holy fire. He wrote of their relations (August 11, 1519) : "I love the studies of Luther, and the holy learning ; I love Martin's self of all things on earth most dearly, and I embrace him with my whole soul." When the tempest from Rome burst upon Luther, after the Leipsic discussion, Melancthon wrote (April 17, 1520) : "I would rather die than be obliged to part from this man." When Luther had been excommunicated and was threatened by the greatest danger, Melancthon wrote (November 4, 1520) : "Martin to me seems impelled by a divine spirit. We may help him to a happy issue of his work more by prayer than by advice. His safety is dearer to me than life. Nothing sadder could befall me than to lose Martin." He designates Luther as the "only" man ; the man whom he dared prefer to the great men not only of that day, but of all former centuries,— to all the Jeromes and Augustines.

While Melancthon saw in Luther the loftier stature, the nobler spirit whom he dared not censure, but before whom he must bow, Luther perceived in what degree Melancthon was transcendent. When, on the occasion of the famous Leipsic discussion, which influenced so decidedly the progress of the Reformation, a public share in the conflict was taken by Melancthon through a letter concerning it, the conceited Eck counted his dignity hurt by the way in which Melancthon blamed the fencers' arts and lack of results which were exhibited. He expressed himself in a tone of supreme contempt upon the young man at Wittenberg,— who, indeed, knew some Greek,— daring, instead of minding his own affairs, to meddle with a question of religion. Luther, on the other hand, declared, "Though I be master and doctor, and have almost all Dr. Eck's titles, I am not ashamed, if the view of this grammarian differs from mine, to yield my opinion."

The thought which to Luther was the centre of the Reformation was fully grasped by Melancthon,— the sinner's justification solely through faith in his Saviour. This his books and letters clearly prove was to him a heart question. Gentle as he was, and thoroughly wedded to quiet study, conflict of spirit was not unknown to Melancthon, as he sought holiness before God and engaged in thorough self-examination. He turned to the truth named to obtain peace of conscience and joy. He laid hold then of the work of reformation with holy love and strong courage. He wrote to Philip, the landgrave of Hesse (1524) : "See what comfort the wounded conscience finds in the Word, when it attains to the consciousness that righteousness is to believe that our sins are forgiven through Christ without our making compensation, without any desert of ours! I know men who, when their consciences could find no

comfort by making satisfaction for themselves, or by good works of their own contriving, had lost, until they heard this doctrine, all hope of their salvation. Now, not only have they attained such hope, but strength and courage also for the conflict with evil. So much depends on our rightly understanding the gospel."¹

Melancthon gave the German Reformation its first compendium of doc-
trines and of duties. He arranged for the learned what
"common-places."² Luther had presented in the language of every-day life. It accorded with the nature of the Reformation that this book sprang from Melancthon's lectures on the writings of the Apostle whom the Reformation especially followed, and on that letter of his which was the chief support of the movement, the epistle of Paul to the Romans. The grand tendency of the Reformation declares itself from the first publication of this book of Melancthon, or from 1521.²

In Melancthon's relations to Luther there appear successive stages. At first, as a youth, he was completely carried away by the power of Luther's enthusiasm. He was attuned by his grand spirit. Yet his own strongly marked individuality, penetrated as it was by the spirit of Christianity, was of service to the Reformation. After the year 1521, his own peculiar apprehension of truth was shown more and more, yet

¹ To John Brentz, the Würtemberg divine, on the occasion of his presenting certain difficulties, Melancthon wrote as follows (May, 1531): "Turn thy gaze wholly from self-renewal and the fulfilling of the law to the promises and to Christ; reflect that we are justified, that is, made acceptable to God, and are given peace of conscience, for Christ's sake, not for the sake of our own self-renewal. The new life in us is imperfect. Hence we are justified by faith only, not because it is the root of life, but because it takes hold of Christ, for whose sake we are found pleasing to God, the new life forming in us also. Though this new life must follow, yet of itself it cannot give the conscience peace. Not love, which is the fulfilling of the law, but faith justifies men; not that it is itself a virtue in us, but only because it lays hold of Christ. We are justified not on account of love, not on account of the fulfilling of the law, not on account of our new life,—albeit these are gifts of the Holy Spirit,—but on account of Christ. We do nothing save take hold of Him by faith." He closes this explanation with the words, "This is the true doctrine; it exalts Christ's glory, and wonderfully quickens the conscience." From Christ as the only ground of salvation, appropriated by every one through faith, Melancthon was led, like Luther, to Christ's revelation of himself in his word, the Bible, as the only source of the knowledge of salvation. It was he who first unfolded with scientific accuracy and clearness the Reformation principle in this second aspect. This he did the first time he took part in open controversy. In the writing in which he defended himself against the aspersions of Eck (August, 1519), he said, "There is one plain meaning to the Scripture, as celestial truth is the simplest of truths; and we can attain it by comparing Scripture with itself, according to its connection. We should search the Scriptures for this object, to try human doctrines and statutes by it as by a touchstone."

² The humility of learning is shown when Melancthon recognizes that after all attempts of former times to explain the Trinity, the creation, the union of two natures in Christ, nothing was perfected. He shows the knowledge of sin and of grace to be essential to the gospel. He enters upon that alone which is directly connected with this foundation fact. Thus the practical tendency of the Reformation is opposed to former movements (which sought to explain and decide too much in theology, and did not perceive the bounds and limits of human knowledge, nor separate the essential and non-essential) in a very significant way, easily understood, because of this very opposition, and justifiable in its very one-sidedness. At a later day Melancthon, while keeping to this practical tendency, laid aside his one-sidedness and greatly enlarged his compendium. The many editions of the same until his death are a picture of the progressive development of his theology. We discover in the manifold changes the unfettered, free-inquiring delver into God's Word, who can declare of himself that he must every day unlearn much, and that he was conscious of pursuing theology with no purpose other than holiness of life.

still in complete unison with the spirit of Luther and the doctrine which he unfolded.

The man of learning, gifted peculiarly with gentle spirit, thoughtfulness, and clearness, made himself felt when he strove to soften by his modes of expression, and to guard against misapprehension, what Luther had ruggedly uttered with fiery spirit in the conflict of debate. In reference to the Romish church there were two ways possible: either to magnify the differences which existed, in order to keep pure and entire the Reformation and the evangelical church; or, amid the diversities of the churches and their doctrines, to bring out their higher unity, to moderate and limit the opposition at first too strongly presented. Both ways were needed for sound progress in reformation. If both were not observed, mistakes would be made in one direction or the other. The representative of one view was Luther; of the other, Melancthon. The latter's position appears in the work written by him on the occasion of the first visitation of the churches of Saxony (Directions to the Clergy for the Right Presentation of Gospel Doctrine or Visitation Articles; 1527).

While some who held fast to the letter of Luther's doctrine, as he had uttered it in debate, accused Melancthon of treachery to evangelic truth, the adherents of the papacy made him brilliant offers, on the supposition that he was about to return to the old communion. Luther, however, recognized in his friend's work his own spirit and doctrine in changed form, and said, in relation to slanders against him, "Whoever intends to do good must leave to the devil his jaw, that he may chatter." Henceforward Melancthon had to strive hard against a party which often forms about great men,— the party of blind imitators, the narrow zealots who copy great men more in their faults than in their virtues, the former being so much easier to do; who hold to the shell without the kernel, the letter without the spirit. In every deviation from the letter of Luther's utterances these saw a deviation from true doctrine. They exalted what Luther had presented in rugged form, and thus showed their zeal for orthodoxy. Of such Melancthon said that Luther hated their way more than he did popery. Instead of softening the heat of controversy and keeping away strange passions, they rather by their preaching poured oil upon the fire. Since the thoughtful, gentle spirit of Melancthon was most opposed to their wild course, marked as it was by fleshly zeal, they from the first directed against him their fiercest hate. They called him cold as ice, and accused him of indecision. Thus began those inner dissensions which afterwards proved so destructive to the evangelical church.

When the controversy upon the Lord's Supper rose between Luther and Zwingle, Melancthon declared against the Zwinglian view as making the communion a mere commemoration of the redeeming sufferings of Christ, and turning the sacraments in general into mere symbols of con-

fession. It was important, he held, to exalt the divine, the present Christ, who was to be discerned and received in the sacrament. He asserted that Zwingle's doctrine presented only the absent Christ as if in a drama. He wrote to the Swiss *Œcolampadius*, "The appeal to reason cannot convince one who remembers that he must decide in reference to heavenly things by God's Word, not by geometric proofs, and who has learned that there are no arguments which can control the conscience when it has departed from God's Word." He said as it were prophetically, "If we reject a doctrine because it contains something supernatural, we will soon have to go further, and deny the Trinity, Christ's godhead, yea, even Providence and personal immortality, because everything that is an object of faith contains something beyond reason."¹

Though Melanthon counted opposition to the Zwinglian doctrine important, he lamented deeply throughout that what Christ gave as a pledge of his deepest affection was made the occasion of sundering hearts, plunging them into conflicts and hatreds. He early wrote to his trusted friend Camerar that he saw no other issue to this controversy than that men should be led into profane discussions and disputes, and their attention drawn away from the essentials of salvation. He was forced to lament that all the fairs were overwhelmed with books, treating of this one question, as if it were the whole of Christianity. He often declared that if he could weep a flood of tears equal to the Elbe, he could not bewail this conflict sufficiently. He sought from the first an understanding upon the question by a calm, passionless investigation according to the Scripture.

We now come to the Augsburg Reichstag (1530), so important in the history of the evangelic church. Melanthon, the ^{His great work at Augsburg.} fore-most theologian of his side in attendance, took two papers, prepared by him along with Luther and other theologians, of which one was a confession of essential articles of faith, the other a list of the Romish doctrines especially to be rejected. These two papers Melanthon was to blend into one whole. Thence rose the "Augsburg Confession," or, as it was called at first, "Apology, in defense of the Protestant doctrine." Its purpose was to defend the evangelic church against the charge of heresy, to prove its doctrines truly catholic, and yet as mildly as possible to set forth the Romish beliefs to be rejected. Melanthon was especially fitted to do this by reason of his peculiar char-

¹ Events have been fulfilling Melanthon's prophetic utterance more and more, even to the final denial of what is supernatural or beyond reason. This is the disease of our own age, the source of most of its evils and of the worst, nor will relief from them come save by a return to the principles of genuine Christianity which Melanthon proclaimed. We are met more and more by this highest problem of life, — to accept the gospel, with its substance above reason and nature, and known only by revelation, or the unbelieving way of looking at things, by which man loses God and himself together, and nothing is left him save to immerse himself in sensual pleasure, and to say, using the watchword of this school, as Paul repeats it, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die!" — the resignation of skeptical despair.

acter, already referred to. When Luther received the confession, he declared his entire satisfaction therewith, saying that he ought not to change anything, for he could not express himself nearly so gently. He named this Augsburg confession "the gentle stepper." The paper was drawn up in both Latin and German. A glorious day in the history of the evangelical church and of our fatherland was that 25th of June, when this confession was presented openly in the presence of the emperor and the states, in the name of all its supporters! It was the emperor's wish that it be read in the Latin, in which it would have been understood only by a few. But the elector of Saxony, John the Steadfast, declared, "Since we are on German ground and soil, we may be allowed to talk pure German." It glorified the German tongue that in it such a simple and powerful witness for the Saviour Christ was openly expressed. Luther wrote at the time, "The grandest thing that happened at the Reichstag was that Christ was proclaimed and extolled in so plain a confession." In his letters to Augsburg he was wont to distinguish Melancthon by the title of the confessor.¹

We approach now what was for Melancthon the most severe and critical period. To avoid a religious war, a final attempt was made to harmonize the two sides by negotiating on the points in controversy. But it is ever bad to treat religious questions in diplomatic conferences, such as may take place respecting war and peace or the boundaries of empires. Such efforts were among the troubles of that period. There were two opposing tendencies in men's views of Christianity and the church. One held to the stand-point of a hierarchical development, freed, perhaps, from excrescences and abuses; the other would purify and renew everything in dependence upon Christ as the unchanging source of salvation and of the church,—on his Word apart from all human contrivance. Such a controversy might exalt the knowledge of the Christian truths received by all, but there was no escaping the conflict when once entered upon. It would not be softened or removed by any negotiations, as long as neither party would yield its stand-point or principle. Luther was therefore quite right in his declaring that the pope and he could never agree unless the pope would give up his popery. Melancthon proceeded in these conferences according to his peculiar tendency of mind and those principles of his already re-

¹ There did not result from this Reichstag, as was expected from the manner in which it was summoned, any effort to compose religious differences on the basis of the confession. It was handed over for refutation to the most extreme doctors of the opposite side. These prepared a "confutation." When it had been read in public, a copy of it was asked by the Protestants. This was offered on condition that they would keep it secret and not answer it,—a condition they would not accept. Some of them had been able to note down much of it during its reading, and thus Melancthon was enabled to prepare the first draft of a reply. Afterwards, when the "confutation" was published, Melancthon drew up a complete defense of the confession. Thus rose that royal work of Melancthon, in defense of the confession (*Confessio Augustana*), known as the "Apology" (*Apologia Augustana*).

ferred to. He would surrender no essential doctrine. He would not give up justification through faith alone.¹

But in externals, in church government, he was ready to yield. He declared himself willing to accept the ancient structure, with the papacy at its summit, as the government of the evangelic church. It must, however, be with such conditions as would preserve the true doctrine. If such an arrangement had been made, it had been a great detriment to the evangelic church, injuring her life more and more. We here see how every peculiarly great talent inclines to an extreme, unless balanced by opposite talents. It needed a Luther, without whom the Reformation as a new creation had not existed, by the side of the mediating, compromising spirit of a Melanthon. Yet, while Melanthon occupied this stand-point, his very timidity, as the zealots deemed it, had more of spirit and courage than he would have shown had he simply aided their rugged opposition to the papacy. He could not satisfy the representatives of the Romish system nor the emperor. Because he yielded in one thing, he was expected to yield in another. His firmness in what to him seemed important was considered obstinacy by men who looked at the subject only from a diplomatic stand-point. They laid the blame upon him when no result came from the efforts at compromise. Melanthon offended also the zealots of his own side, and became a constant object of their suspicions. He adhered to his principles when, without regarding the outcry which he thus excited against himself, he added to Luther's Schmalkald confession (1536), which (in its fourth article) rejected every visible head of the church as both unnecessary to the church's true unity and injurious, his own declaration that he was ready to accept the supremacy of the papacy in the evangelic church as an ordinance of man, provided the pope would support the gospel, that is, the pure, reformed evangelical belief. Thus, also, he held at the Regensburg Reichstag (1541). There the first effort was made for an "interim," that is, a temporary adjustment of religious differences, to hold till final action was taken by a general council. Such an adjustment had been planned by John Gropper, a canon of Cologne, and Gerhard Volkroeck, an adroit diplomatist in the train of the imperial minister cardinal Granvelle, probably with assistance from others. By mutual agreement the two sides were to be brought near each other; that is, as John Frederick said, the new wine was to be poured into old bottles, the new cloth sewed on the old garment. Nothing could come out of it. Melanthon,

¹ Even in the Reichstag at Augsburg, as we learn from Melanthon's own lips, there were some who would have suffered a diluted form of the doctrine, such as recently has been heard from members of the evangelic church who have apostatized from her true essence. They would signify only that man's righteousness proceeds from the disposition. He must worship God with a pure heart. If they may wrench the doctrine in this sophistical way, they may find traces of it in the old writers before Christ, and may indeed be amazed that it has caused so much controversy. But Melanthon, as we have seen, was penetrated with the doctrine in its true meaning, and asserted it most important to keep unsullied this jewel of the evangelic church.

the profound scholar of history, whom his deep historical insight gave something of the prophetic, recognized from the first, as he compared such efforts at compromise with similar ones of old, that nothing would be gained, but bad would be made worse. When he had to take part in the arrangement, he felt unable to depart from the views which he had laid down, however much ill will was thereby excited against him. He often regretted that he was obliged to take part in these diplomatic negotiations. He had to undergo self-denial in so doing. His simple manners and frank nature did not fit him for diplomacy or intercourse with the great men of church and state. He would have preferred his books, his learning, his instruction of youths, holding this, as he did, far nobler and more important than all these public discussions. By them his life was embittered.

Here we must bring up a thing which we have deferred so as not to break the historical connection, but which is of moment in characterizing this great man. The year 1540 proved to share in Philip's bigamy. him a hard year. Profound sorrow was given the theologians, because they were not able to withhold Philip, the landgrave of Hesse, who fell into subjection to his sensuality, after he had done so much for the Reformation, from unchristian bigamy with Margaret von Sala. Melancthon, especially, could not get over his regret that he was obliged, against his choice, to be present at Rotenburg, at the celebration of the marriage. His grief weighed upon him. With oppressed spirit and forebodings he left Wittenberg to go to Hagenau, to renew the unpleasant negotiations for compromise. Upon going out of the door, he said, "As we have lived in synods, we will die in synods." On the journey his slight frame gave way to his mental conflict. He was taken, at Weimar, with a severe illness, which brought him to the brink of the grave. He was weary of life. His tender conscience gave him no gladness in prolonging it. In this extreme hour Luther was summoned quickly from Wittenberg. He was frightened at the appearance of his friend, who seemed so near death, and who would hear no encouragements nor consent to take anything. Luther went to the window, praying with the ardor peculiar to him, and with the assurance of faith which removes mountains. Strengthened through prayer, and filled anew with divine strength, he turned to Melancthon's bed and insisted that he should eat. When he refused, Luther commanded him in the name of Christ to take something, saying, "Thou must eat, or I will excommunicate thee." The power of his word and look forced Melancthon to yield. It proved the beginning of his recovery, which he ascribed to Luther, saying in a letter to Camerar, "Luther suppressed his own sorrow that he might not increase mine, and with the utmost greatness of soul sought to strengthen me, not only by comforting me, but by constraining me. If he had not come to me I should have died."

We have seen Melanthon side by side with Luther, maintaining his own individuality. The two mutually recognized their diversities, yet were thoroughly joined in the unity of the spirit. The Lutheran and Melanthonian elements should always unite and mutually complete each other for the prosperous growth of the evangelic church and its theology. The sundering of these two tendencies of the Reformation, a schism in which one or the other will be put down, must exert the most hurtful influence on the progress of the reformed church. In such schism was the germ of the evils which followed. The party of narrow zealots for the very letter of Luther's doctrine, which has been referred to, had increased. Some of them, in contact with Luther, were able so to use the weakness of the man, now oppressed by the burden of his toils, growing soon old beneath the tribulations befalling God's work, and gloomily disposed often by sickness, as to excite in him suspicion of his old friend and fellow-laborer, and to scatter seeds of discord. He was told that he cherished a snake in his bosom. Melanthon had much to suffer and endure. Only by his foresight and thoughtfulness, his gentle forbearance, moderation, and patience, was the breaking out of an open strife avoided. Melanthon was afraid that he would have to leave Wittenberg. Luther's great soul was happily able to recover itself from these discords. As long as he lived, the party of narrow-minded, passionate zealots were restrained, in a measure, by his authority. Everything changed at his death. Many another sad occurrence followed, kindling the long-smouldering fire into flame. Inner feuds rose in the evangelic church, lasting till the death of Melanthon, filling his life with bitterness, in many ways injuring his blessed usefulness, yet giving him many opportunities to prove his gentleness, mildness, patience, and moderation.

Close on the death of Luther came the Schmalkald war, and the victory of Charles Fifth. The electoral office was transferred from the magnanimous John Frederick, who was cast into prison by the emperor, to the young duke Maurice of Saxony, who had left the evangelic party. The emperor decreed the new "interim" of Augsburg, a worse piece of patch-work than ever, and more full of disaster to the cause of Protestantism. Melanthon declared himself against it in the most open and emphatic manner, showing what disquiet of conscience would be produced by it, what a tender subject the worship of God was, and what need there was to avoid all changes that would offend and lead men astray. His utterance, which was communicated to the emperor, offended him. Charles was incensed already by a report that a recent libel against him had been written by Melanthon. He was barely pacified by the elector Maurice, after having asked that Melanthon be given up to him as a disturber of the peace. Further negotiations on church affairs in Saxony ended in the Leipsic "interim." Respecting this Melanthon considered that he must act on the same principles as before, and so drew upon himself re-

newed obloquy. A change came, when Maurice turned to be a champion of religious and political liberty, and secured the peace of Passau. Still the old controversies went on. The Melancthon school was a mark of passionate attack by the theologians of the opposite party. The two theological schools, the one in the restored University of Wittenberg, with Melancthon at its head, and the other in Jena, waged stout war on each other. Melancthon took pains to banish harsh expressions respecting absolute predestination, irresistible compelling grace, and denial of coöperation to the will in conversion. He founded a system of doctrine upon the New Testament attributes of God, more conformable to God's saving counsels and actions, and more in agreement with the needs of the human soul. In Melancthon we find doctrine in agreement with life. Often, in seeking comfort for himself or his friends, as they lost dear children, he would say, "This love to our children which God has implanted in our hearts is a pledge to us of the love of God to his only begotten Son and to us. A God who has planted such love in our hearts is no stoical God, no God of iron necessity."

Melancthon had further trouble with the party of narrow zealots respecting the sacrament. He remained true to his position, opposing the Zwinglian view. But all that he counted essential was the real presence of Christ in the ordinance as a means of true, supernatural fellowship with Him. He wished a composition on this basis of the strife which separated the two portions of the evangelic church. For this object the Wittenberg "Concord" was formed (1536), but not as Melancthon wished. He preferred a clear understanding upon the question, rather than a covering up of differences. Since Calvin's view approached Melancthon's, an agreement was hoped for. But the strife, which broke forth anew in the last years of Luther's life, continued. Melancthon cherished thoughts of a thorough union, for which the time was not come. He said, a few months before his death, in a letter of advice to the elector of the Palatinate, on the occasion of the controversy in Heidelberg, "The Son of God is present in the ordinance of the Supper, and here works in believers; He is present, not for the sake of the bread, but for the sake of man." He appeals to the expressions in the last discourses in the Gospel of John respecting Christ's fellowship with believers. "In such words of true comfort," he says, "Christ testifies that we are his members, and that He will raise up our bodies." Thus Melancthon wrote, facing the rude storms which filled the last days of his life with toil and care. As much as he strove to avoid strife and preserve Christian unity, he would not deny what he considered the truth, cost what it would. He expected proscription. He had been threatened by his raging foes with having left to him not a foot of ground for a resting-place.

Amid controversies so painful and oppressive to his soul, amid ingrat-

itude and misapprehension which he had to endure, Melancthon in his closing years became filled with an unutterable longing for home. He would fain be away from conflict, in the land of peace,—away from the darkness of earthly life, where there is so much strife over the veiled and unknown, in the light of immediate vision. He was comforted by a profound presentiment that he would soon go thither, rescued from the discords of earthly existence. He wrote in May, 1559, "Not unwillingly, if God please, will I depart out of this life. As the wanderer who makes his way in the night eagerly looks to the morning dawn, so do I eagerly await the light of the celestial 'Academy' on to-morrow." "In yon heavenly fellowship," he writes to a friend, "will I again embrace thee, and joyful will we talk then with each other at the fountain of heavenly knowledge." In August of the same year: "I think every day on that last journey, and eagerly await that light in which God will be all in all, and sophistries and calumnies be left far away." The thoughts of this letter are also expressed in some words which Melancthon wrote a few days before his death, and which were found on his desk. In them he presents his supports in his impending departure out of his earthly life, and reckons among them that he will be freed from the rage of theologians, will attain to the contemplation of God and Christ, and will perceive clearly all that was veiled and hidden here below,—why we were created as we are, and how in Christ the two natures were united.

Of the period of Melancthon's last illness we will cite a few things characteristic of the man and of his surroundings. Duke

Incidents of his

last days.

Albrecht, of Prussia, a generous patron of all who labored

for the church or for science, who had maintained a lively correspondence with Melancthon respecting the affairs of the church and the state, desired to gratify him by a token of respect. He did not know, however, whether to send him money or something else. He turned to Justus Jonas the younger, of Wittenberg, for advice. The latter consulted Melancthon's son-in-law, Kaspar Peucer, the elector's physician, professor of medicine and history. The latter, as Jonas reported to the duke, replied, "I would rather that no one would send my father-in-law money. If money is sent him, it does neither him nor his children good, for he saves it not. I see how he does when his salary comes in: he gives it away till not a farthing is left. Anything lacking in the household I must supply. Thereby none of us are any too well off." Jonas therefore advised that a beaker be sent Melancthon. One was purchased of the value of a hundred dollars. When it arrived, Melancthon was dead. Before his death (April 19, 1560) he heard read several favorite portions of Scripture: Psalms xxiv., xxv., and xxvi.; Isa. liii.; Christ's priestly prayer; and Romans v. The last words which he spoke audibly were, "The saying of John is ever before my

eyes, and upon my heart: As many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name." — A. N.

LIFE IV. HANS SACHS.

A. D. 1494—A. D. 1576. LAICAL LEADER,—SOUTH GERMANY.

"Of a maker of shoes a sweet singer has grown,
And grand poet to teach us that 'great is our Lord,'
For He chooseth as pleaseth Him, knowing his own;
The poor cobbler he sheweth his grace-giving word."

So we find written in Latin verse under an engraving (on copper, by Lucas Kilian, of Strassburg) of the year 1617, which represents the bust of Hans Sachs in advanced old age; and we heartily give our assent. A contemporary of Luther, Sachs imbibed with wonderful correctness the leading ideas of the Reformation, clung to them with the fidelity of conviction, and strove successfully to give them life among the people of Germany.

Hans Sachs, son of a master tailor, was born in Nürnberg, November 5, 1494. He was apprenticed to a trade which was very flourishing there, and, while it furnished abundant support for a family, did not hinder one who followed it from public usefulness. He became a maker of shoes, and was never ashamed of his calling. He grew up to it at home, "with good manners, with modesty and reverence." He was taught in the Latin school of his city the elements of learning such as his times required. According to custom, he became an apprentice at fifteen, and at seventeen (1511) set out on travels, as was usual. Thus he became acquainted with a large part of Germany, making stays in the larger cities. He reached home when twenty-one (1516), and clung to Nürnberg with affectionate devotion until the end of his career. He soon (1519) established a home of his own, marrying Kunigunde Creutzer, of Wendelstein, near Nürnberg, and was so prosperous that he removed (1540) from the suburbs into the city. There, at 969 Flour Street (Mehlgässlein), near Hospital Square (Spittelplatze), a memorial tablet invites citizens and strangers to visit the home which his name makes famous. Here he plied his trade to extreme old age, never laying it down till compelled by the loss of sight and hearing. After his first wife's death he married Barbara Harscher (1567), who survived him. He himself died in his eighty-second year, in the night of January 19–20, and was buried January 28th, in John's Cemetery. He had ever been a loving, trusting husband, and enjoyed to the full the honors falling to him as a citizen. He left no children, two sons and five daughters having died before him.

But his especial work of life had been appointed him of God in another province, an ideal region. It is a striking fact—would it might occur again in our day!—that many artisans of that day were able with the vigorous practice of their calling to combine higher pursuits, the prosecution of which usually demands the whole mind. Hans Sachs found his real task, given him by God, in poetry,—in minstrel song, then flourishing. Nor was he more than one in a throng of artisans who strove for laurels in song and poetry. Sachs enumerates twelve leading master singers who, one after another, had conducted the school of song at Nürnberg, from Conrad Nachtigall down to his own instructor, the linen weaver, Lienhard Nunnenbeck, whose successor he himself became, in the guidance of the general society of the master singers, who in his time numbered some two hundred and fifty in Nürnberg.

The mere study of his life convinces us that Sachs's poetic work was ordained of God. His home training fitted him to address in song the popular thought and moral sense. The school he attended was indeed conducted, as he tells us, “according to the bad usage of our time.” It gave him but a partial and soon-forgotten knowledge of Latin and Greek. Yet he there learned to speak “distinctly, correctly, and clearly,” and to love and practice the rudiments of the art of song, and many sweet, pleasant instrumental pieces. He acquired, too, a lively interest for all useful knowledge, which he kept as long as he lived. When an apprentice he found in Nunnenbeck a valiant leader of his art, and fell enthusiastically in love with it and its higher aims. On his travels, he visited the chief seats of poetry in Germany, and not only began himself to compose, but to form classes, in Frankfort-on-the-Main and other cities. He came, when in Wels, to a full consciousness of his calling. Repelled by the rough ways of ignoble comrades, he renounced their follies, and turned his mind to the noble art, as he, in Hesiod style, tells us in his “Story of the Muse's Late Gift.” On his way to the imperial park, he was surprised by the Muses, as he slept on the grass among the flowers by the fountains. He says of one of them:—

“ The goddess looked with kindly gaze,
And said, O youth, wed poesy;
Give German song thy coming days,
Devote thyself to minstrelsy;
Therein promote God's royal name,
Tell men his deeds of noble fame.”

When Sachs doubted, and spoke of the inexperience of a youth hardly twenty, he was given by the Muses “a steadfast will, desire and feeling, great diligence in learning the principles of his art, and every gift he required.” Thus endowed he sang his first song (1514), “The Mystery of the Godhead.” He showed thus at the start the direction he

would thereafter give his art. When on those same travels he met Martin Luther in Augsburg (1518). From him he received his final consecration to poesy, and his thorough resolve as to the way he was to take to reach a crown of immortal glory. Thus he came back (1519) to his home with settled purpose and thorough definite mental aims to devote himself to both his earthly and heavenly calling with all his powers.

The interest he took in Luther was shown by his zeal in collecting his writings. By 1522 he had forty productions of Luther, and looked on them as the choicest treasure of a library which he had gathered with great pains. "All these books," he says, "have I, Hans Sachs, collected, to honor God in his Word and to benefit my neighbors. 1522. The truth abides eternally." The next year he salutes Luther, his teacher, as the "Wittenberg nightingale now heard everywhere."

"Wake, wake! the dawn is near! A wondrous song I hear in green hedge rising clear;
It is the nightingale! It sounds o'er hill and dale; night shall no more prevail.

In east the day draws nigh, morn's rosy red climbs high, the clouds and darkness fly;
The broad sun gazes down; now pales the setting moon before the coming noon!"

He then goes on to unfold his full understanding of the faith as preached by Luther. He tells it simply and plainly, as if from his own innermost conviction. It is made plain that Hans Sachs possessed the books of Luther not outwardly only. He is roused and possessed by the spirit of Luther. He is become a thorough evangelical Christian. Sachs was enriched by all that was called into life by Luther's Reformation. His library soon contained Luther's translation of the Bible. Sachs and the Bible. Compelled before to do with the early versions, he found in Luther's work, in both form and substance, what his soul longed for. At once his minstrelsy adopted its rules for its future creations. It should avoid all deviation from the language of Luther, and look upon such as a mistake. There is a marked difference to be seen between his earlier and his later songs. He owed to Luther release from the Middle-Age confusion of tongues and scholastic talk far removed from real life. He now became thoroughly intelligible and popular. After the complete Bible of Luther was printed, Sachs, without wearying, rehearses treasures of Bible histories, and presents whole books in poetic form. He makes but slight change or addition, and this only from the requirements of his rhyme.

In the year 1523, Luther's attention turned to sacred song. Immediately Sachs's poetry assumed a new character. As early as 1525 there appeared in Luther's style some spiritual songs founded on the Scripture, for the laity to sing, as, for example, "Ein schöne Tagweiss von dem Wort Gottes" (A Christian Song against the Terrible Threatening of Satan). His old songs he remodeled. In place of "gentle Mary" he spoke of "gentle Jesus." He sang no more of the "the Heavenly

Lady," but of "the Heavenly Christ." In the same way, Heyden, the rector of Sebald, was then singing, instead of "Hail, thou queen, mother of mercy," "Hail, Jesus Christ, thou king of mercy."

Sachs followed Luther's track also in prose writings (1524). In four His great prose dialogues, published together, he assailed his opponents works. with ready, cutting wit, convincing argument, and evangelic statement. The leader in the dialogue and champion of the good cause is a shoemaker, John, evidently the poet himself. The first dialogue, "Discussion between a canon and a shoemaker, wherein the Word of God and the true Christian character are maintained," goes thoroughly into the question whether laymen have any right to join in the discussions of the learned, and seek on their own account for the truth of the Holy Scriptures; also, whether the clerical order, with the pope at its head, is founded upon the Scripture, and whether public worship which admits the invocation of Mary and the saints is allowable. All these questions he answers in accordance with the opinion of Luther and the latter's little work, "On Christian Liberty." The second dialogue, following Luther's book "On Clerical and Monastic Vows" (1521), rejects all these ordinances of the hierarchy, and calls the monks from their cloisters to enter life and go to work, "to which they are born as truly as are birds to fly." The work of Sachs widened when he not only opposed the upholders of the old system, but in his two later dialogues administered to the friends of the new system excellent counsel and admonition. They were to renounce all immorality, according to the light given them, cease from useless controversy, and, on the other hand, practice that patient love which would rather yield in matters of indifference, and avoid scandal and offense, than rush into untimely and foolish quarrels.

Sachs, beyond any poet of his day, made the spread of classic letters, so helpful to the German Reformation, subserve the ends of his Muse. Translations of the old writers were appearing in great numbers. They were quickly given a place in Sachs's library, and made serviceable in his poetry. To these may be added also what the Middle Ages and later centuries had produced, the stories of countries and cities, the popular tales. Petrarch and Boccaccio, Reuchlin and Erasmus, Luther and Melancthon, — their treasures were all turned to use. Hans Sachs was clearly the most comprehensive writer that Germany has ever produced.

In the year 1529 Luther's catechism appeared. By the year following Sachs had turned both parts of it into poetry, wholly in accordance with Luther's meaning. Thoroughly attached to Luther as he was, and bound up in his writing, he did not suffer himself to be cast down by his death (1546). In a royal elegy he offers comfort to Theology, which he portrays as "a woman in snow-white robe, following the bier, wring-

ing her hands and tearing her hair," and adds the following pointed lines : —

" Our God still cares for thee; thy friends are here, a royal band still striving;
Thou 'lt not forgotten be. The church of God yet lives, its strength reviving;
The powers of hell now flee. Take courage, then, nor mourn if Luther leave thee;
A hero, conqueror, he! the battle won, no foe remains to grieve thee."

Sachs himself was one of a knightly royal company, that took pains to perfect the work of the great reformer and maintain the faith in utmost purity. In Sachs's time Nürnberg was one of the very first of German cities, and in a certain sense the German capital. Sachs was a chief ornament of Nürnberg, holding a most important place as musical director and member of the city council. Nürnberg's disposition to help the Reformation to the utmost sprang from her citizens as a mass. While Sachs was but one among them, his voice had great effect in securing the acceptance of Lutheran views, and in conferring upon the city great advantages. Nürnberg as a state and Hans Sachs are closely related. They both wanted church reform, and through it the renovation of Germany. When the Turks overran Hungary (1532), and threatened Vienna and Germany, Sachs published a poem of two sheets, "Against the Bloodthirsty Turk." He summoned the whole nation to arms, to fight as one man valiantly against the ancient foe of Christianity. Beginning with the emperor, he calls Charles Fifth to let his eagle crest appear; with fiery, penetrating words he summons the holy empire, and every rank and station, to come at once to the field. Nürnberg, accordingly, was one of the first in the field, doing even more than her share, and all the states were stirred to lively emulation.

Sachs like Nürnberg held to the emperor, even at times when such allegiance was of doubtful propriety. Thus they not only aided him against France (1536), but also in the Schmalkald war. Sachs made but once a direct attack on the papacy, at the time (1527) when the troops of Charles entered Rome as conquerors. He then aided Andrew Osiander, preacher of Lorenz church, who published the predictions of Abbot Joachim of the thirteenth century. The citizens of Nürnberg took no offense at his work, but the council feared the displeasure of the victorious emperor, whose subjects they loved to consider themselves, and passed a harsh censure on the poet. None the less Nürnberg held to the Reformation, taking part not only in the protest at Spires (1529), but also in the Augsburg confession (1530), rejecting the views of Zwingle. She would "not value the emperor's favor above the grace of God." This same year, Sachs issued a series of valuable poems in aid of the work of Luther.

In the years 1541 and 1542, Sachs raised a strong voice against discord in the realm, first during the Nürnberg Reichstag, when he wrote the "Captivity of Truth," warning against all self-seeking in opposition to

God's Word, and also in a poem (1544), which advises the restoration of the common good [“respublica”] and of peace and harmony. In the same mind he opposed margrave Albrecht, the foe of his city, when he beleaguered Nürnberg (1552). Sachs helped by the pen his city and his fatherland as a good patriot till the end of his life. When he reached sixty he thought that he must lead the rest of his life in quiet, “free and at leisure from all poetic labor;” but his muse would not release him, calling him to work even with his feebler powers to the glory of God. As his life hastens to its close, he sits at his table, with long beard, silently looking at his books and his open Bible, which to the last he counted the gem of his library.

Beautiful, rare example of one who fulfilled his life and work in the noblest way, and royally met the demands of his twofold occupation! His character corresponded to the aims of his life. From youth, his heart avoided corrupting influences. Even in the jest and humor of which he was so fond, he never let anything escape him which would incite to sin. When he approached such thoughts,— and his use of secular books furnished too frequent occasions,— he used ever to add a word of excuse, saying, “I pray, lay not the blame of this to me, Hans Sachs.” At times, indeed, the patriarch of minstrelsy is a child of his generation, and speaks in a popular way, with a wit inclining to coarseness and rude jest. Yet he is for the most part kept therefrom by his evangelic thought and pure frame of mind. He was very modest in his estimate of his own morality, as he shows by his censure of himself near the end of his life, in his poem “The Works of God are Good.”

Hans Sachs must thus ever be given a place among the evangelical leaders who cherished Christianity and fatherland, and did good service to both in their generation. He was ever true-hearted, guileless, cheery, and gracious. By his help the free city of Nürnberg became a metropolis of a popular, fertile literature, of which the Bible was the foundation, reverence and piety as well as spirit and aspiration the characteristics. Such a school of letters ever rises up when there is revival of the German national spirit, and advances grandly to the task of regenerating the fatherland, delivering it from aliens, leading it back to noble efforts and real Christianity.— F. R.

LIFE V. JOHN BRENTZ.

A. D. 1499—A. D. 1570. CLERICAL LEADER,—SOUTH GERMANY.

JOHN BRENTZ, a venerable reformer, was born June 24, 1499, at Weil, then a free city of Swabia, now a country town of Würtemberg, at the southeastern border of the Black Forest. His father, who was mayor of the city, and his mother, whose maiden name was Hennig, took, as Brentz records in his will, the greatest pains with their children's education, especially in religion. Their adhesion afterwards to the evangelic faith, to which they were won by John, laid a penalty upon them, even in death, for they were refused burial in the church-yard, and were laid outside the city in unconsecrated ground. John went to preparatory schools in Vaihingen and Heidelberg; then entered the Heidelberg University (1512), and was welcomed by a company of eager youth, among them Melanthon, *Œcolampadius*, Bucer, Lachmann, and Schneff, all destined to share with Brentz, ten years later, in the work of religious reform. When Luther came to Heidelberg (1518), after his ninety-five theses had stirred all Germany, he expressed his glad hope that these young men, unlike the old who were confirmed in their notions, would spread true views of Christianity. Brentz attained success in Heidelberg as a teacher and preacher, though suspected by the papists. When twenty-three (1522) he accepted a call to preach in Swabian Hall, and won popularity there both by the substance of his sermons and by his graceful delivery. Gently but decidedly he opposed Romauist abuses in doctrine and worship, and strove to make his church and school evangelical. He taught, respecting the worship of saints, that we should not ask for them what they did not ask for themselves. We should not set up in opposition to God beings whose lives were united with God. There should be no dividing of our prayers.

When the peasants revolted (1525), Brentz taught that they should rather submit to their rulers than resist. Their course would not promote Christian love or brotherhood. They should present prayers to God and implore the rulers who oppressed them to lighten their burdens. He advised the city to defend itself against the peasants. If it yielded, it would be lost. He strove to perform the double task of bringing not the people only, but the princes, to a knowledge of God's Word, that they might rule their subjects rightly. He especially devoted himself, as did Luther, to the work of education. He anticipated Luther First to write a catechism. by a year in preparing a catechism, the first of the reformed church, the "Catechism of the Christian Faith for Youth at Swabian Hall" (1528). He was drawn (1525) into the controversy on the Lord's Supper, opposing the Swiss view, and defending Luther's view of the or-

dinance from the Scriptures and the Fathers. He met Luther once more, at the Marburg colloquy (1529). At the same time he came to know Ulrich, the exiled duke of Würtemberg. At the request of duke Ulrich, when the latter had been restored to rule in Würtemberg, Brentz led in the reform of the University of Tübingen. He not only reformed his own church, he was asked to give counsel elsewhere, by the nobles in Kraichgau, in Hohenlohesse on the Lower Neckar, in the Swabian free cities, and in Franconia, especially in Nürnberg and Anspach. He was taken by the margrave George of Brandenburg to the Augsburg Reichstag (1530), and was elected one of the negotiating committee. He also attended conferences at Schmalkald, Worms, and other places. On his return home from Augsburg occurred his marriage with Margaret Gräter, a worthy widow. They were given six children, of whom three survived their parents.

Soon after Luther's death (1546) there began the fearful Schmalkald war. The troops of the emperor entered Brentz's parish. With great difficulty he escaped their endeavor to seize him, taking with him his family and his most valuable papers. He ran great risk from letters which he, so long in favor of submission to the emperor and peace, had written to justify the Protestants. These letters, in which he maintained that their self-defense was right, were found and carried to the emperor. Brentz had to hide in the forests from December 21st, on through the cold winter, till the departure of the emperor's troops permitted his return to his plundered dwelling. He was not long left undisturbed. He could not approve the "interim," which the emperor sought to enforce as a means of combining Romanists and Protestants in creed and church worship. He said that it was impossible to serve two masters opposed to each other. It was a mistake to suppose that the friends of the "interim" would tolerate the reformed doctrine, if the reformed would accept their ceremonies. They would insist that people acknowledge the primacy of the pope, while the Bible ascribed no supremacy to Peter, or any of Peter's successors. Besides, Brentz utterly rejected private confession to the priest, the mass and transubstantiation, and the prayers for souls in purgatory. This strong opposition of his to the "interim" stirred the fury of the papists. Cardinal Granvella ordered his seizure, living or dead. Brentz first took refuge in the castle of Hohenwittlingen, near Urach, in Würtemberg. When no longer safe there, he went to Basel. He wrote from this city to John Calvin, describing the sad condition of Germany, and received in reply a charming letter, full of comfort and admonition, with the assurance that Calvin remembered him continually in his prayers. Brentz met, in Basel, duke Christopher of Würtemberg, then governor of Mömpelgard. He also received news of the death of his wife. He could not rest, thinking of his orphaned children. He hastened back to Stuttgart. News of fresh persecutions coming to duke Christopher, Brentz was advised by him to escape as best he

could. With a loaf of bread under his arm, according to the story, Brentz went to a house in the upper part of Stuttgart, and <sup>His notable es-
cape.</sup> there hid in a space between a pile of wood and the roof.

During two weeks constant search for him was made. All this time, a hen came where he was, at noon every day, and laid an egg in a nest. On this egg he kept himself alive, till the Spanish soldiers withdrew, and he could leave his hiding-place. He next took up his residence in Hornberg, by the Black Forest, in the disguise of a bailiff. At one time, when he advised a preacher in the region not to preach so long, he received the answer, "You bailiffs always think the time spent in church too long." A great many thought that such a bailiff was never seen before, for he neither swore nor drank. At last, when the preacher was ill, and was consoled by Brentz from Scripture and his own thoughts, he exclaimed, "Oh, sir, you are no bailiff, be you what you may!" Brentz entered into a second marriage in 1550, with Catharine, daughter of his friend Iseunmann. They were given ten children.

No sooner had duke Christopher assumed rule in Würtemberg (1552) than Brentz was called by him, first to Ehringen castle, then to Stuttgart as "provost." He not only preached, but faithfully counseled the duke in all church questions. He prepared the Würtemberg confession of faith, which was laid by the duke (1552) before the Council of Trent. Afterwards Brentz wished to maintain it there in person. But notwithstanding he was shown courtesy, he was not publicly heard, for "it did not seem fitting to the assembled fathers to be instructed by those who should render them obedience." Brentz was author, in the main, of the Würtemberg church constitution of 1559, which was followed by the church of electoral Saxony, in 1580, and by others. After Luther's death he was, next to Melancthon, the leader of the German church. He was therefore called to bear a part in many discussions, especially on the sacrament and the doctrine of justification. The "three mighty men." We need not be surprised to find that in his varied labors he had sad experiences, and often little thanks. Once, a strange preacher, visiting Stuttgart and hearing Brentz preach, to his astonishment found the church empty, and after the service was over expressed to Brentz his amazement. Brentz, on his way home, led him by a spring, and asked him what was the chief excellence of that spring. When his guest could not reply, Brentz said, In that it continues flowing whether many come to drink, or few: the preacher of God's Word must do the same. Brentz, in his closing years, was very active in religious efforts on behalf of France. The hope was entertained that the evangelic faith would prevail in that kingdom. But duke Christopher, who had been called in by the king of Navarre as a mediator, found himself deluded by the French sovereign, and the cause of the gospel in France basely betrayed.

On the death of his beloved ruler, Christopher (December 28, 1568),

Brentz looked forward to his own departure. He had already made his will, on the occasion of the breaking out of a plague (1566). In it he bore witness to his conviction of the divine character of the Scriptures, and to the church's teachings, so far as they agreed therewith. He blessed the grace of God, which, by means of Luther, had spread abroad the true light. He expressed his gratitude to the princely house of Würtemberg, which had pitied him in distress, and had cared for him and his family with countless kindnesses till his life's close. God would certainly take them into his keeping and preserve them in the true Christian faith. Towards the close of the year 1569, Brentz, in the midst of his labors, was taken with paralysis. He revived, but in August, 1570, was attacked by a severe fever. The last day of August he received the Lord's Supper, with his family and his brothers in office. He exhorted the latter to Christian steadfastness and unity, referred especially to Paul's farewell to the elders of Ephesus, and closed by repeating the one hundred and thirty-third Psalm. Silently praying God, he expired Monday, September 11th, and the next day was buried near the pulpit of the cathedral. He had, a short time before his death, chosen the spot, so that if ever any one from that pulpit preached a strange doctrine he might lift his head from out his grave and call to him, "Thou liest!"

Brentz's writings were everywhere esteemed. Many of them were translated into foreign languages. Luther thought so highly of them as to declare that no theologian had explained the Scriptures so well as Brentius; that he was often amazed at his ability, and had doubts of his own powers. With an allusion to the fourfold vision which came to Elijah at Horeb, Luther said that his share was the mighty tempest, which rent the mountains and tore the rocks asunder, while Brentz's was like the soft whispering of the breeze. Twenty years after Brentz's death, the Roman Catholic pastor of Oeffingen, when talking with deacon Wolfart of Cannstadt of the wealth of the monks, unlocked a huge chest, and showed him the works of Brentz, saying, "These are my wealth; I prize them more highly than any money." — J. H.

LIFE VI. ZACHARIAS URSINUS.

A. D. 1534—A. D. 1583. CLERICAL LEADER, — SOUTH GERMANY.

Two periods are plainly visible in the Reformation in Germany: one when the great religious movement rose under the personal guidance of its first leaders, when with full hands they scattered broadcast the blessed seeds of gospel truth; the other, when the first generation had been called home from their labors, and a second took up their work, guarding the Lord's ripening harvest, weeding out all foreign growths, and

plucking up each growing tare,—in a word, the period of the compacting of the evangelical communion into denominations with their various confessions of faith. To this period belongs Ursinus. A member of the reformed church of Germany, he is perhaps the most renowned and honored of all her theologians in the many countries in which the reformed church has taken root. To him chiefly we owe that most popular confession and book of instruction, the Heidelberg Catechism, which, accepted by reformed people everywhere, has now entered upon its fourth century of usefulness.

Zacharias Bär (in Latin Ursinus), born July 18, 1534, was the son of respectable although not wealthy parents. His father, Andreas Bär, was at the time of his son's birth a deacon of the Mary Magdalene church of Breslau. Afterwards he became ecclesiastical inspector and teacher of theology in the Elizabeth school of Breslau. The mother, Anna Roth, was of noble descent. Young Bär early showed great talents, which were carefully fostered by his father and teachers. Studies at Wittenberg. When hardly sixteen (1550), he was advanced enough to be sent to Wittenberg University. Such hopes of his future were excited by his school testimonials that the council and merchant guild of his native town resolved to help him with a yearly stipend. He spent nearly seven years in Wittenberg, interrupted in his third year by the plague, which along with the condition of political affairs made his return to Breslau seem advisable. It was now the last decade of the labors of Philip Melancthon, which had blessed so many thousands of youths by teaching the gospel at this centre of the Reformation. It was also the time when the peace of the church was disturbed by the violent controversies between Luther's followers and Calvin's on the doctrine of the Supper. Melancthon's last days were greatly saddened by the spiteful, abusive spirit of the zealots for the extreme tenets of Luther. Young Bär had been reared in Breslau in the peaceful Melancthon view. He attached himself closely to his revered teacher, and was loved by him as by a father. He was suffered to accompany Melancthon to Worms (1557), to a church conference. After its close the promising youth was enabled by the help of generous relatives to travel for purposes of study. He went by way of Heidelberg and Strassburg to Basel and Zürich, thence to Lausanne and Geneva, and then by way of Lyons and Orleans to Paris. Returning to Wittenberg (September, 1558), he visited Tübingen, Ulm, and Nürnberg; Melancthon's powerful recommendations secured him everywhere an excellent reception. Calvin was then living, and other contemporary founders and leaders of the reformed church and doctrine. Ursinus (to use now his learned title) made the personal acquaintance of nearly all of them, and won their profound esteem and love. Calvin made him a present of his works, recording in them, with his own hand, his regard for the young man, with his good wishes.

The journey was of great use to Ursinus. In Paris he increased his knowledge of Hebrew, acquired the French, and obtained a deeper insight into the state of the church in the various countries and districts which he visited. All his life through he kept up the acquaintanceships formed during this year, and with important results.

Meanwhile, his friends in Breslau had been striving to obtain an appointment at home for their scholar. An appointment as teacher in the Elizabeth gymnasium met him upon his return to Wittenberg. He accepted it from love and gratitude to his city, yet with a heavy heart, for the strife between the parties of Luther and Melanthon was so hot there that he doubted his ability to maintain a public position in the midst of it. His convictions, too, which were ripened by travel, inclined to a decided adoption of the views of Calvin. Though at one with Melanthon in his love of peace, and thoroughly attached to the good man to the end, he could not approve his master's wavering between the views of Luther and Calvin, and refraining from an open expression of his opinions. Thus Ursinus was soon known in Breslau as a hateful Calvinist. He replied to his assailants in an able production, yet longed to leave a position which had grown painful. A few days after the death of Melanthon he received permission to retire. The best testimonials were given him, and the desire was expressed that he would soon accept some other position in his native city.

His surrender of office was a sacrifice cheerfully made to his deep Leaves home for convictions. When asked by his uncle Roth whither he conscience's sake. would go, he frankly replied, "I will leave my fatherland, and that cheerfully, since it does not allow the confession of a faith which I cannot conscientiously give up. If Philip, my best beloved teacher, were living, I would go to none save him. Now that he is dead, I will go to the men of Zürich, who, though little thought of here, have a renown in other churches which our preachers can never destroy. They are pious, learned, and great men, with whom I am determined to spend the remainder of my days. For the rest God will provide." He did as he had said. Without tarrying in Wittenberg, whose theologians would gladly have made him one of their number, he hastened through to Zürich (October 3, 1560). He renewed his intimacy with the clergymen and theologians of that city, especially with Henry Bullinger and Peter Martyr. To the latter he felt especially drawn, and counted himself fortunate in enjoying his "heavenly instruction." Ursinus prized the privilege allowed him in Zürich of speaking out his convictions and holding communion with men of like belief. For all this, his love for his home was not less ardent. He writes from Zürich: "If our people would consent to my teaching, openly and officially, the doctrines of the Swiss churches on the sacraments, divine providence and election, free will and church traditions, and would maintain church disci-

pline, I could soon show them with what burning zeal my heart is filled for my fatherland." The hope of his Breslau friends that he would return was never realized. Soon a wider and more grateful field of labor opened to him in the reformed churches of the Palatinate.

Otto Henry, elector of the Palatinate, dying (February 12, 1559), was succeeded by Frederick, duke of Simmern. In him were the noblest princely qualities, and above all the fear of God. He had promoted reform in his little dukedom, as decidedly as Otto in his electorate. Otto stood by Lutheran views as held by Melancthon. Frederick was a decided Calvinist. Following the rule adopted by the German Reichstag (1555), that each prince should decide the religion of his state, Frederick strove to give the Calvinistic confession, to which he honestly adhered, the predominance. The faculty of theology in Heidelberg was designed to aid him in this effort.¹ It was Frederick's strong desire to attract the revered Peter Martyr to Heidelberg from Zürich. The latter, pleading his old age, recommended young Ursin in his stead. Thus in his twenty-seventh year Ursin became one of the pillars of the reformed church. Through him and his associates Heidelberg won a renown far beyond the limits of the Palatinate. Ever since it has been counted a stronghold of the reformed faith.

Ursin's chief work in Heidelberg was to superintend Sapienz College, a preachers' seminary, which was designed to be a home to the ^{His work in} students of theology, and yet a part of the university. It Heidelberg. had been founded by Otto to supply the call for preachers in his territory. Frederick enlarged it to accommodate seventy students, and placed it under his consistory. To conduct the training of so many candidates was no slight task for young Ursin. He was called to lecture not only upon theology as a science, but also on preaching and catechising. Even general lessons in philosophy were undertaken by him when required. He received the degree of doctor (August 28, 1562), and undertook the chair of dogmatics, which had been held by Olevian. After six years he resigned this (to Zanchi), on account of his oppressive duties. His lectures demanded from him thorough, conscientious preparation. Then a multitude of special duties was devolved upon him by the elector. Further, there were scholarly works to be written.² When-

¹ Even in the reign of Otto Henry, several men who professed the reformed theology were placed in the university, among them Peter Boquin, a fugitive French Calvinist, who became professor of theology. Otto's court preacher, Michael Diller, also held to the reformed confession. Frederick, however, first thought of making the university and theological faculty decidedly Calvinist. Taking the advice of the Zürich and Geneva divines, he associated with Boquin E. Tremellius, as professor of theology, and Caspar Olevian, the latter a pupil of Calvin. The celebrated Jerome Zanchi joined them in 1568.

² In the establishment and organization of the churches in the electorate he took less share than his friend Olevian. Olevian was especially adapted for practical church business, for establishing a new order of public worship and a church consistory. The latter, composed of ministers and laymen, was to exercise authority in school and church matters. Olevian was released from university duties, made a member of the consistory, and given a place as preacher in Heidelberg.

ever Frederick wanted a scholarly presentation of the Calvinistic faith, he made Ursin his spokesman, champion, and critic. Of all Ursin's works of this kind, none was so important as his share in composing the Heidelberg Catechism. He and Olevian were commissioned by the elector¹ for this work, and entered upon it with all the zeal and affection which such a work required. They first studied conscientiously the excellent catechisms already existing in the reformed church, and especially Calvin's and Laski's. From this material Ursin made drafts of two catechisms, a larger and a shorter, both in Latin. These were designed to serve as an introduction to a work for the people, and to set forth the doctrines which it should present. They answered the purpose. These drafts by Ursin were turned into German by him and his associate, and after a great many changes were published in what is now known as the Heidelberg Catechism.²

¹ Frederick found in the beginning of his reign that the catechetical instruction of youth in his dominions was sadly neglected, or at least left to the pleasure of each individual pastor. He found need of a positive and uniform training in Christian faith, and of a catechism which should state the chief Christian doctrines clearly and comprehensively. Thus not only would the young and unlearned be better cared for, but preachers and school-masters would have a definite guide and rule to go by in their instructions, and would not be left to inculcate any new doctrine that entered their heads, however little authorized by the Holy Scripture.

² In the clear, concise German style, we may see the share taken by Olevian, also, in the arrangement so much admired, in the division into three parts, and the simple Biblical construction. The two men each displayed their peculiar merits in the composition of the book. A careful study of it will show that besides being a text-book for youth, it was designed to be a brief compendium of theology, a kind of confession of faith for the church of the Palatinate. Many points are therefore more fully treated in it than in other catechisms of the period which were meant simply for youth. It not only transcends the needs of youth in some particulars, but in the doctrines of salvation which especially suit the age of childhood it employs expressions which require for their full understanding the riper experience of mature minds. Yet this exceptional manner of treating subjects is no detriment to the catechism as a manual for youth. Its merit, besides what has been named, arises from the simplicity and naturalness of its divisions: (1.) Of man's misery. (2.) Of man's redemption. (3.) Of thankfulness. Then comes a masterly treatment of details. Under the first head, the ten commandments are not taken in detail, as in Luther's catechism, but in their sum in Christ's words (Matthew xxii. 37-40). In contrast with this image of a life in thought and deed pleasing to God, to which man is appointed, is placed the depth of the sinful depravity of man as he is, in and through Adam (as shown in Question 5, etc., respecting hatred to God, and Question 8, respecting man's inability for good, and his natural tendency to evil). When the mind has been thus strongly awakened to a sense of the misery of sin and of the wrath of God, in the second part comes the doctrine of redemption, by the God-man, with an extended explanation of the Apostles' Creed. Among many matchless definitions may be named those of true faith and justification (Questions 21 and 60). In Question 65 is a definition of the sacraments as holy signs and seals of God's promises in the gospel; then follows, in true Calvinistic terms, a treatise on the power of the keys. The third part gives an exposition of the ten commandments. As the law was in the first part a mirror to man of his sin and misery, so in the third part it is presented very differently as a guide and rule of Christian life. Thus the catechism maintains this leading thought of the reformed system: that the law attains its highest end in its importance to the lives of grateful believers. Throughout it is maintained that the good works arising from fulfilling the law are not, as Romanists hold, meritorious, but are fruits of the new heart given in regeneration,—are tokens of our gratitude for our redemption. Last, under the third part comes an exposition of the Lord's Prayer, as an especial inculcation of spiritual worship and thankfulness. We have then in the catechism the three heads common to all Christian catechisms, but conceived and arranged after the reformed theology. Of single passages in it, none is more famed than the answer to the first question, "What is thy only comfort in life and death?" and to the eightieth question, with its severe condemnation of the Romish mass as "an accursed idolatry." The first edition of the catechism was printed without this expression. But when the decree of the Council of Trent appeared, the elector was moved to recall the first edition, as far as possible, and to place in the second this sharp expression, which gave offense to the Romanists, and played quite a part in the coming history of the Palatinate.

The work appeared in 1563, with an order from the consistory that the Sunday afternoon services should be devoted to its explanation. Its contents, for this reason, were officially divided into fifty-two parts, one for each Sunday; and again into ten lessons or sections, to be read every Sunday before sermon. Soon the book was translated into Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, as well as into most of the living European languages; for in all the Reformed churches, without exception, the "Heidelberg" received approval and acceptance as a confession of faith. Sermons on the catechism became popular in other lands,—for example, in Holland.¹

While the church of the Palatinate was thus cared for in its inner life, it had no lack of outward conflicts; and in these Ursin had his share. The setting up of a Calvinistic church in the electorate made a great noise inside Germany, and outside, also. From one side the elector got great praise, from another blame and sharp attack. His neighbors, duke Christopher of Würtemberg, margrave Charles of Baden, and count-palatine Wolfgang of Zweibrücken, sought untiringly to draw him from the reformed side. The question of the Lord's Supper was again debated. On this, Ursin, at the elector's request, replied to the attacks made on the Reformed doctrine of the Supper, which was much perverted. This reply, which was one of his most noted works, appeared (1564) under the title, "A Thorough Investigation of the Holy Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the Theologians of Heidelberg University." The same year the theologians of the Palatinate and Wittenberg held the renowned conference at Maulbronn, in the presence of the princes of both parties. In this assembly, which proved as unsuccessful as unedifying, Ursin led the many theologians of his side in opposing Jacob Andreä, the chancellor of Tübingen.²

To such attacks from without, on the church of the Palatinate, were

¹ This dissemination is easily traceable to the form of the catechism. A late theologian of the reformed church (Sudhoff, *The Lives and Writings of Olevianus and Ursinus*, Elberfeld, 1857), says rightly, "Singular power and unction are diffused over the whole work. Its fresh, awakening tones address the soul. It is a confident, joyous declaration of Christian assurance of salvation. The reader's heart and will are addressed, as well as his intellect. Clear, popular ideas are beautifully joined with a deep feeling of devotion, a serious, observing spirit, and glad assurance. He who has once read his catechism must also see how indissolubly these great excellencies are bound up with the style, so forcible and dignified, and yet so simple. What true-hearted, rational, and yet lofty rhetoric is in the answer to the question, 'What is thy only comfort in life and death?' 'That I, with body and soul, both in life and death, belong not to myself, but to my faithful Saviour Jesus Christ, who with his own precious blood hath paid the ransom for my sins, and delivered me from all the power of the devil; and so preserves me that without the will of my heavenly Father not a hair can fall from my head; yea, that all things must serve to promote my salvation; and therefore, by his Holy Spirit, He also assures me of eternal life, and makes me sincerely willing and ready henceforth to live unto Him.'"

² When (1573) Andreä reproached the clergy of the Palatinate with introducing into their belief the abomination of Islam and the doctrines of the Koran, there appeared (1574), *A Confession of the Theologians and Clerks of the Church at Heidelberg, upon the one true God in three Persons, upon the two Natures in the one Person of Christ, and upon the Holy Communion of our Lord Jesus Christ*. These doctrines were treated with masterly skill and sagacity, while at the close is a short abstract of the Reformed doctrine of the Supper. Ursin had a large share in this work; and, indeed, by some the whole is ascribed to him.

added fightings within. The true Calvinism of the Heidelberg Catechism is seen in its views (Questions 82-85) on the necessity of a parish presbytery for discipline, and especially for excluding unworthy persons from the sacrament. The advice of Calvin, on this great question, had been sought and obtained by Olevian. It was the serious purpose of the elector to introduce presbyterian government into his dominions. But the carrying out of the plan, in the midst of the union of church and state, involved great difficulties. The Reformed churches in German Switzerland, founded as they were under the care and favor of the state, had, like the Lutheran churches of Germany, adopted principles and customs in reference to the church and state very different from those of the churches of France and Holland, which grew up in face of political oppression and persecution. The latter were used neither to expect help from the state, nor to suffer its intermeddling. They aimed at independence in their church government, and conceived of nothing so important as a strict discipline over their members, not by the state, but by the church's own officers. The diversity of view already seen in Switzerland was now experienced in the Palatinate. Regulations in harmony with the catechism were sought by Olevian and the Calvinists from other countries. On the other hand, the exercise of discipline by the church was stoutly opposed by a party led by Thomas Erastus, professor of medicine, a native of Switzerland. He defended the customs of Germany and German Switzerland. The details of the conflict (1568) need not be repeated. Suffice it to say that it involved the deep question of state church and free church, which has since so often agitated the reformed communion.

Ursin, as a native of Germany, it was hoped by Erastus, would take the side of the latter. The hope was vain; Ursin stood by the doctrine of his catechism. He was not the man, after his sacrifice in youth of an honorable career in Breslau for sake of conscience, and production in manhood of able books on the subject, to take back deliberately all his words and actions. He bravely declared, "If not a village or a city can do without discipline, without statutes and penalties, neither can the church, the home of the living God, do without church government and discipline, though these are to be very different from civil enactments." Nothing moved Ursin from this conviction: neither the outcry against Olevian, the "Hierarch," nor the cutting remarks upon the "foreigners," nor the disfavor with which he, as well as Olevian and the foreigners, was regarded by the Heidelbergers who disliked discipline, as well as by the scholars, courtiers, and officials, who sided with Erastus, and who, as might be expected, from the state of the case, included some of doubtful, or, as was proved later, of loose character. So little was Erastus able to measure Ursin's faithfulness to his conviction and strength of character that he charged the latter with acting like a "madman."

Ursin's disposition was, in fact, shy, timid, and gentle. He took to heart the ceaseless theological disputes. He was especially pained by the Maulbronn conference. He withdrew as much as possible from all controversies, and lived in his student labors. Here his work was out of proportion to his scanty support, for, besides the teaching and government, the business interests of the college were on his shoulders. His strength gave way. Sleeplessness and pain attacked him. His noble mind was darkened by an excess of melancholy. He longed to leave the Sapienz College, which he called his "tread-mill" and "torture-chamber," to find some more quiet position. A call from Berne (1571) to enter the theological faculty of Lausanne seemed to promise the desired repose. But his resignation was twice refused by the elector, and he would not go against his prince's leave. He yielded himself to the situation. Some alleviation of his work, as well as increase of his salary, was promised. He had never entered marriage by reason of his want of health. He now, at forty, formed a happy union with Margaretha Trautwein, in whom he found a faithful wife and loving support. They had one son.

At last the storms he had long foreseen broke over Ursin's head. The elector Frederick, dying (October 26, 1576), was succeeded by his son, Louis Sixth. The new ruler was a zealous Lutheran, and not disposed to respect or tolerate the institutions promoted by his father. He only thought of how he could revolutionize them in favor of his own party. With relentless severity, he set to work to execute his purpose. All the entreaties of the clergy, the university, the council and guilds of Heidelberg, to be permitted the free exercise of their religion, were in vain. The churches were taken from the Reformed, the Reformed consistory was replaced by a Lutheran one, the theological faculty dispersed, and all preachers and teachers persecuted, unless they accepted the Lutheran confession. More than six hundred preachers and teachers lost their places on account of their belief. Ursin gazed with deep sorrow on the destruction of what he had labored to build with such love and self-denial. But one protector was left Calvinism in all the Palatinate, — Frederick's second son, John Casimir, who had a small dominion on the left bank of the Rhine, including Neustadt. This generous prince gathered, as far as his means allowed, the scholars whom his brother drove from Heidelberg, and founded a new academy. Ursin was one who sought Closes life an exile. refuge in Neustadt, and taught (after May, 1578) in the so-called Casimirianum. He carried with him his illness, low spirits, and melancholy.

Yet he still toiled, preparing an exposition of Isaiah and a learned commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism. He had to take up once more the defense of his creed. The so-called "Form of Concord" had been drawn up by the Lutherans, dividing them from the Reformed. Ursin

undertook the painful task of maintaining against attacks and mutilations the doctrine of the Reformed (in his "Christian Memorial upon the Form of Concord"). The writing of this pamphlet was Ursin's last important public effort. At the end of the year 1582 his illness returned with new force. Skillful treatment and tender nursing brought no relief. He gave way under his toils, which he continued almost to the last. He was called away at six o'clock on the evening of March 6, 1583, from the church militant to the church triumphant. Glowing testimony to his faith and joy in leaving earth was borne by his colleague and comforter in sickness, Francis Junius. He was buried in the church of Neustadt. He has been named by the grateful Reformed church, as his epitaph says in simple, truthful words, "A great theologian; a refuter of errors respecting Christ's person and his Holy Supper; mighty with both tongue and pen; a sagacious philosopher, wise man, and careful instructor of youth."—H.

LIFE VII. ULRICH ZWINGLE.

A. D. 1484—A. D. 1531. CLERICAL LEADER,—GERMAN SWITZERLAND.

ULRICH ZWINGLE was born the 1st of January, 1484, in Wildhaus, a mountain village of the Tockenburg, between the Churfirsten range and the Sentis. He was the third of eight children. His father was chief magistrate (*amman*) of the district; his father's brother was pastor, first of Wildhaus, then of Wesen; his mother's brother was abbot of the cloister of Fischingen, a day's journey from Wildhaus. Zwingle was thus, if not of a wealthy, of a well-to-do and reputable family. His first lessons were given him by his uncle, the pastor of Wesen. After he was ten years old, he spent three years in St. Theodore's school, in Basel, under George Büchli, who considered him one of his best pupils. From Basel he went to Berne, to be taught by Henry Wölffli. The latter was not unfamiliar with the sciences, had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, read the classics, and pursued the study of music with his students. In the two last named Zwingle excelled. He was sought by the Dominicans as a member of their body. This order, which had fallen into disrepute by a fraud (the Jetzger imposture), was devising means to regain its lost popularity. Zwingle, instead of joining it, preferred to visit the University of Vienna (1499). He there passed two years in study, forming especial intimacies with Joachim von Waat, of St. Gall, who was afterwards burgomaster of Vadian, and with Glarean. He came back to Wildhaus in 1501. The next year, when he was eighteen years old, he became teacher in Martin's school in Basel, but pursued, at the same time, the study of the Bible, under Thomas Wittenbach, of Biel. He

also became intimate with Leo Juda, attained the degree of master, and at twenty-two years of age was called to be pastor of Glarus, a His first pastor-
ate. parish which at that time included a third part of the canton.

In addition to all his duties in his parish, Zwingle attended to founding its first school, and educated faithful youth, especially in the classics, among others Valentine Zschudi. For himself he was devoted to the study of Picus and Erasmus, and above all of the Bible. He copied the epistles of Paul in a little book, adding in the margin the expositions of the best interpreters. He learned almost all of the Greek Testament by heart. He was besides keeping abreast, with keen insight, of the course of Swiss politics. He wrote thereon (1510 and 1511) two didactic poems, "The Labyrinth" and "The Fable of the Ox and the Wild Beasts." Afterwards (1512 and 1515) he went as an army chaplain with the forces of Glarus to the campaign about Milan. Of his first campaign (1512) we have an account by him in Latin verse, evidencing his extensive and unusual acquirements, and also his independence and soundness of judgment in questions of politics. As a youth, he neither went to excess with the roving scholars, or Bacchants as they were called, nor grew stupid, hypocritical, and depraved among the monks. He remained a free child of the Alps. His studies and his experience, his rare powers of mind and will, had one object. He was designed by God for a reformer in the church and in the commonwealth. He appears first as a political reformer, a preacher of republican virtues. He had seen with his own eyes, and had experienced in its worst form in the Milan expedition, all the evil of the freebooting soldiery of the day, of the buying and selling of men, and of the taking pensions in pay for them. He had been in the battle of Marignano, so unfortunate and yet so glorious for the Swiss. After he had come back safe to Glarus he preached more severely in opposition to a freebooting soldiery, and drew upon him enmity by the very power of his eloquence and reputation. The papacy had taken note of him already, and conferred on him a yearly pension of fifty guilders, to win him over to its side. He received and used it, as he said, solely for the furtherance of his studies and the purchase of books, and, as it proved, to arm and equip himself the better against popery, which had become so depraved.

When thirty-two (1516) Zwingle was called by the abbot of Einsiedeln, Conrad von Hohen-Rechberg, a thorough monk, to be pastor of that parish, a place sought by pilgrims from the ends of the world. He accepted the invitation. The people of Glarus gave him up unwillingly, and for a long time kept the place of pastor open, that he might come back to them. He effected great results by his sermons in Einsiedeln. By his proclaiming the gospel, he caused much of Begins reform
work. the money which was brought for the purchase of indulgences to be given away to the poor. He was supported both by the knightly abbot and by the lord of the district, baron Theobald von Geroldseck, and also

by his friend Leo Juda, who was now his deacon. He beheld ever one thing that was needful,—the free proclamation of the gospel. He talked and corresponded on this with the leading people of the country, whom he often had opportunity of meeting in Einsiedeln. Before leaving Glarus he had gone to Basel to pay a visit to Erasmus. He was also in favor with the archbishop Schirmer. He was advised by the papal legate Pucci (August 14, 1518) that he had been appointed by pope Leo Tenth one of his Begins work in Zürich. chaplains. The same year he accepted a call of the cathedral canons to the great church of Zürich. He had been chosen by them almost unanimously as preacher to the people. He was obliged to keep two assistants, and could not have supported himself had not a place as canon been given up to him by his friend the canon Engelhard.

The day he was thirty-five (January 1, 1519) Zwingle began his work as preacher in Zürich by giving an exposition of Matthew, stating beforehand that this was the style of preaching which the earliest of the church fathers employed, and was the most needful and effective. He soon acquired great influence. He barred the way of Samson, the Swiss Tetzel, with his horrible sale of indulgences; what was perhaps more, he brought it about that Zürich refused to enter the new league which the other twelve states (or cantons) formed (May, 1519) with Francis First, the king of France. The Zürich people were already thoroughly republican, with a government of their own making. The hatred of the partisans of France was now brought upon Zwingle and his sermons. The latter went on doing their work. Days of fasting ceased to be observed strictly. The church worship remained unchanged until 1522. Request was made by Zwingle and ten of his associates of their bishop and the joint governments of the confederacy for permission to clergymen to marry. The Constance bishop sent to the canon of the cathedral a remonstrance of sixty-nine articles on the subject. Zwingle defended himself in his "Archeteles" with such freedom of speech that he received a warning from Erasmus; for that scholar, as is known, would keep the favor of all. To put an end to the controversy, now increasing through the confederation, the Zürich government invited every one to a public conference (Thursday, January 29, 1523). In this assembly Zwingle upheld the cause of the gospel triumphantly, opposed as he was by Faber, Zwingle reforms Zürich. the vicar-general of the bishop of Constance. The council decided that the preachers should continue to teach the Scriptures. After the close of the discussion, Zwingle wrote out his conclusions, three hundred closely printed pages, constituting his confession of faith. The powerful canton of Berne also declared in favor of a free gospel. There, as in Zürich, the convent doors were opened. Some of the nuns married. First among the Swiss clergy to take a wife was Roubli, the pastor of Witikon, in Zürich. This, with the impatience and

violence of the image-breakers and the rising communism of the anabaptists, called for a second conference in Zürich (October 26, 1523). Zwingle showed from the Scripture the unscripturalness of images and of the mass, and insisted upon the abolition of both of them. But those writers understand neither Zwingle's intellect nor his heart, who say that he intended in the Lord's Supper a mere memorial celebration, a mere object lesson. The bodily presence of Christ he neither would nor could admit. But of the spiritual presence of the Redeemer, and of the spiritual effect of the sacrament when faithfully received, he had the loftiest apprehension. He was the furthest removed from depreciating the divine in the ordinance, or reducing it to a mere outward figure. "Who dreams of doing any such thing!" he exclaimed in this conference, amid his tears. He was equally free from despising the arts. He himself composed music and poetry, and played upon several instruments. Art, however, had grown so secular, both in Zürich and elsewhere, that a decided lesson was needed. Zwingle would not destroy works of art, but when taken out of the churches would preserve them. He was not responsible for the image-breaking violence, nor for the anabaptist excesses. These rose from the war of the peasants in Germany. Münzer visited Frickthal. In Waldshut the preacher Hubmeyer was his adherent. The latter preached with an accompaniment of profane music (as Rouge did in the wine-cellars of Frankfort, in 1848). He celebrated the Supper in the same manner. A troop from Switzerland joined their company. These communists spread themselves in particular over Eastern Switzerland, sacking the cloister of Rüti. In two conferences (January and November, 1525) Zwingle endeavored to correct these people, who acknowledged no authority. It was to no purpose. Finally, some of their leaders were put to death, as rebels, by drowning (1527).

By this time Zwingle had married (April 2, 1524). His bride was a widow, Anna Reinhardt. The cloisters of Zürich had been abolished (November 3, 1524). Zwingle received no pecuniary gain by the latter movement. His share in it was disinterested and benevolent. The property of the cloisters was used for religious and charitable objects. Yet some of it, as, for instance, the mass ornaments and chalices of the cathedral, fell to the public treasury. The cathedral chapter ceded its authority as a court to the civil government. Thus the government became the bishop. Zwingle, like the other reformers, made the mistake of thinking that the civil government would continue ever attached to the church. Otherwise they would have set up a presbytery in the place of the bishop. Zwingle, however, caused the civil rulers to take an oath of allegiance to the gospel. All these changes and innovations imbibited the districts which clove to the old religion. These too wished to abolish abuses, independent of the pope, and even against his will. In this they showed the reform spirit. They even called an assembly in Aargau, in

Baden, in a district regarded as dependent on the other cantons, or ruled by them in common. To it they invited the great debater, Eck, of Ingolstadt. The conference took reform ground, for before this its members had said that only a general council could treat upon church doctrine or order. Zwingle did not attend the Baden meeting. No safe-conduct, he knew, would be assured to a heretic like him. Yet he lent his untiring aid to Ecolampadius, who was there in his stead. His repeated messages were borne by one Thomas Plater. The papal party claimed Zwingle helps a victory in the discussion (October, 1526). On the other reform Berne. hand, Zwingle and a hundred preachers gathered in Berne (January, 1528), and in a conference greatly helped the cause of the Reformation in this canton. Here, too, the civil power took the bishop's office, and required an oath of allegiance from every pastor. It abolished the convents. The people, however, of the wealthy convent of Interlaken proposed to be their own rulers. Aided by eight hundred Oberlanders, these Haslithalers rose in rebellion. They were put down by Berne, by force of arms, their ringleaders beheaded, and one of them quartered.

A league (the Burgerrecht) was now formed between Zürich and Constance, in support of the Reformation. It was joined by Berne, then by St. Gall, which adopted reform in spite of its abbot, and finally by Basel, where reform was carried by force. The soul of all these negotiations and alliances of Zürich was to be found in Zwingle. He took part in the Zürich government. He unfolded, even before the Berne conference, a plan of defense against the Romish cantons,—for he had acquired some experience of military matters. The five Romish cantons had already used force. They had already put to death, in Lucerne, Hottinger of Zürich, the image-breaker, and three adherents of Zürich, Wirth of Stamnheim, with his two sons. These were illegally beheaded in Baden, without having committed any crimes. The Zürich preacher Kaiser also had been burned in Schwytz. A league, too, had been formed with the Austrian duke, Ferdinand, king of Bohemia and Hungary (February, 1529).

War was declared against the five cantons (Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Luzerne, and Zug) by Zürich (January 9, 1529). Berne opposed any aggressive measures. Mediation was attempted by Aebli, the chief man of Glarus. Zwingle disapproved, saying, "Yield not to their pretenses." Still peace was made. Zwingle remarked, "You will yet repent of this peace, wringing your hands." The five cantons were forced to give up their alliance with Austria. As to reforms in the districts ruled in common, the majority of voices was to decide. This was the first peace of Cappel, and, as Zwingle rightly perceived, was no peace, for reforms spread in the districts held in common. Zürich lent aid to the people under the abbot of St. Gall,—for Zürich and Glarus, with Luzerne and St. Gall, were protectors of St. Gall. Zürich ruled in St. Gall arbitrarily. Zwingle taught there (notwithstanding ancient laws and covenants)

that for a church officer to exercise civil power was unscriptural. "If that be so," said the subjects of the abbot, "we will rule ourselves." Further, Zürich acted illegally, striving to rule in Thurgau, St. Gall, Tockenburg, and Rheinthal. In all these the Reformation prevailed. Synods were assembled in them, attended by Zwingle, who directed and aided them. When there came to St. Gall an officer of Luzerne to act in his turn as magistrate of St. Gall, he was made to swear to support reform. The officer of a lord of Unterwalden, hostile to reform, was put in prison in Zürich, and beheaded.

These events, in fact, took place while Zwingle was at the conference of Marburg (September and October, 1529), in company with ^{Zwingle meets} Luther. That enthusiastic supporter of the Reformation, ^{Luther.} Philip of Hesse, then twenty-five years of age, desired that Luther and Zwingle might come to an agreement upon the Lord's Supper. It was out of the question, although the two reformers were one in their reverence of the Saviour and the ordinance. Zwingle had ever been independent of Luther. He had entered upon reform at an earlier day. He had indeed circulated Luther's writings, yet he looked at Scripture and history with his own eyes. He was not behind Luther in knowledge of the languages or of the Bible, nor was he his inferior in eloquence, in untiring effort, in theological zeal and capacity. In their manner of life, however, the two men were wholly diverse. When the question was how to act towards the emperor Charles Fifth, the foe of reform, Luther, the friend and subject of his prince, and Zwingle, the republican, could not comprehend each other. Luther preached Paul's precept of unqualified obedience to authority, and an age of martyrdom, if need be. Zwingle preferred Paul's other expression, "If thou mayest be made free, use it rather." In his confession of faith, presented to the Augsburg Reichstag (1530), Zwingle spoke of deposing wicked rulers, and yet Luther and Zwingle both of them decidedly opposed the rebel anabaptists and other communistic companies of their period. Zwingle expressed the greatest respect for Luther, and offered him the hand of a brother. But Luther said, "No need of brothering and fellow-membering; you have not the right spirit." Zwingle parted from him with pain and tears. Nor was Luther reconciled to Zwingle to the day of his death.

Zwingle and the landgrave Philip came to understand one another. Large plans were devised between them for the protection ^{Zwingle in pol-} and extension of reform, and the union of all the Protest- ^{ties.} ants [as they were called after the Reichstag of Speyer, 1529]. This was when Zwingle left the ground which until this time he had weeded and tended, planted and watered, as zealously as Luther, and betook himself to a strange field of action, coming thereby into contradiction to himself. The biographer and editor of his works, Melchior Schuler, says of him, in his excellent and accurate Swiss history, "Most noble was his

bearing towards Luther, who out of stubbornness and temper abused him so undeservedly, and caused the writings of Zwingle and his friends to be burned in the territories of Saxony. Zwingle applauded Luther's services, allowed writings of the latter abusing himself to be sold without hindrance (there was a 'censor' in Zürich after 1522), and replied to him with calmness and dignity. None the less Zwingle, from his enthusiasm for his belief, from the vehemence of his character, from the injustice and opposition of his foes, and from the power of circumstance, fell into mistakes which led him to do wrong. In this way the progress of the Reformation was hindered, and himself plunged into a conflict to fall a sacrifice to his own bravery."

A new contest and war were hastened by the violent way in which Zürich helped and the Romanist cantons hindered the advance of reform in their common territories, especially in St. Gall. Zwingle, who had ever preached so stoutly against a hireling soldiery, now favored alliance with Venice and France for the side of reform. His friend Collin negotiated with Venice and the French ambassador. Zwingle advised in favor of the French alliance. Francis First did not care for reform, but for Lombardy. Zwingle wrote to him (June, 1531), and sent him his confession, which is still in existence in Paris. On the other side, the Romanist cantons sought the help of Austria and the emperor. Strassburg joined the reformed league. Hesse also, it is thought, took part, but Berne refused, probably from jealousy of Zürich's strength in the East. The public conferences now held inflamed the strife. At last Berne declared a blockade of the five cantons (May 21, 1531). This measure, calculated to madden them without any result, had always been opposed by Zwingle. Its effect, in fact, was to strengthen and goad on the foe. Zwingle resigned his office (July 26th) into the hands of the government, and proposed to leave Zürich. The landgrave of Hesse had proffered him a refuge. Urgently entreated by the Zürich council, he said (July 29th) that he would stay and endure till death. He went (August 10th) to Bremgarten, to bring the ambassadors of Berne to a decision. It was in vain. With a foreboding of approaching death, he took leave of his friend Henry Bullinger, who was to be his successor, commanding the church to his care. While Berne lingered and Zürich was irresolute, the five cantons armed themselves and declared war (October 9, 1531). All was confusion and treachery in Zürich. Her troops gathered in a small detachment to enter the conflict, without waiting for the reinforcements coming from every direction. Zwingle joined Zwingle dies in their march, and fought, cheering on his comrades. He fell battle. in the front rank, bravely, under the blow of a stone and the thrusts of lances.

Thrice the dying man rallied. "What misfortune is it?" he cried. "They can slay only the body, not the soul." The enemy, finding him,

as he lay on his back, looking up to heaven, advised him to confess and invoke the saints. He replied, "No." He was thrust through by the lance of a freebooting soldier. Canon Schönbrunner, of Zug, said, as he looked on the body of the hero, "Whatever may have been thy creed, thou wast a loyal ally." There fell with Zwingle twenty-five brother ministers, twenty-six members of the government and sixty-four other citizens, and in all five hundred and twelve persons. Thus ended (October 11, 1531) the battle of Cappel, so disastrous to Zürich, in which Zwingle died, at the age of forty-eight, a faithful shepherd in the midst of his flock. His dead body was treated shamefully,—quartered, burned, and its ashes strewn to the winds. His spirit lives in the intellectual life of Zürich, which he awaked, in the untrammeled proclamation of the Word, which he commenced and greatly promoted, and in the unselfish love of country, as cherished by the noblest spirits after the pattern of Zwingle.

The centennial anniversary of his entrance into office (January 1, 1519) has in three centuries been celebrated with profoundest regard, and will be celebrated in centuries remote. A pear-tree, standing where he fell on the battle-ground of Cappel, in sight of the Alps, once marked the place where his blood was poured out and his life ended. The tree has disappeared, but the noble shoot which his life sprang from,—the tree of life,—planted in the soil of Zürich, and cultivated there, has grown strong, enriched by his blood. In the place of the pear-tree a monument of granite rock now stands, commemorating the rock on which he stood, on which the church also stands,—the rock from which Zwingle never was moved.—A. E. F.

LIFE VIII. JOHN ŒCOLAMPADIUS.

A. D. 1482—A. D. 1531. CLERICAL LEADER,—GERMAN SWITZERLAND.

JOHN ŒCOLAMPADIUS (Hausschein or Hüsgen) was born in 1482, in the Swabian city of Weinsberg. His parents were well-to-do citizens. John was an only surviving child, loved by them as the apple of the eye. John's father would have had his son seek fortune as a merchant. His mother, a woman of intelligence, devoted him to learning. Her own father was a citizen of Basel, a member of the Pfister family. Her son was destined one day to carry blessing to the city of her ancestors, beyond all that she could anticipate. After John had acquired the elements in the school of Heilbronn, he went to Heidelberg, where he received the degree of bachelor when fourteen, and soon after master of philosophy. Already his comrades had translated his German name Hausschein into its Greek equivalent, Œcolampadius. Such was the custom of the period.

Destined for the law, the youth betook himself to the renowned school of Bologna. But neither the law studies nor the Italian climate agreed with him. After six months we find him again in Heidelberg, devoting himself to the science which his heart chose, that of theology. As it was then pursued in the universities, it had certainly, at first glance, very little to attract. A sound mind could only be hurt and repelled by the scholastic form which hid and even disfigured its real beauty. Scholasticism in its leading men into the depths of theology had served its day and was past its bloom. Thorns, however, remained, entangling often nobler spirits, and allowing them to free themselves only with toil and difficulty. *Œcolampadius* shunned the thorns as well as he could. He indeed studied the great master Thomas Aquinas, but passed by the subtle Duns Scotus. He felt more drawn to the theology which joined to a keen logic a deep mysticism, as a certain form of religious thought was then designated. He took as his model in this the chancellor Gerson. He perceived that not science, but devoutness of thought and life, constitutes the true theology. By this only he could save his own soul or the souls of others. His first call to let his light shine came when Philip, the elector of the Palatinate, gave him his two sons to educate. This work did not, however, long detain him. His parents had purchased a living for him, according to the custom of the times, in their city of Weinsberg. He would not enter the office till thoroughly grounded in learning, and especially in a more extended knowledge of the languages of the Holy Scripture. He devoted himself in Heidelberg to Hebrew, under the care of a baptized Spanish Jew, Matthew Adrian. He had already made acquaintance with Melanthon in Tübingen and Reuchlin in Stuttgart. He had come into relation also with Brentz and Capito.

Thus, well stored with knowledge, and aided by intercourse with the first men of his period, he became a priest in his native town.

Priest in Weins-berg. Doing much good here, he was called by the bishop of Basel to preach in the cathedral of that city of Switzerland (1515). His stay there was temporary. He returned to Weinsberg, where already he had published a writing ("De Risu Paschali") on the side of reform. He satirized in it the immorality of his age, which in the churches at Easter time excited the people to laugh by droll stories and jests, and thus compensated them for the coming Lent. Called again to Basel by Erasmus to lend help in the latter's second edition of the New Testament, he remained a short time; then, having received the degree of doctor of theology, he accepted a call to Augsburg (1518). As preacher in the chief church of the city, he found an opening for reform effort. He used his leisure, meantime, for his own training and for literary labor. He was an especial student of the fathers. So greatly was he disposed to a quiet, meditative life that he resolved to exchange his office as a priest for the life of a monk. He entered the old minster cloister of the order of Bridget,

in the bishopric of Freisingen. He passed two years in learned study, attaining more and more of hidden truth by the help of the Bible. The monkish life by no means accorded with his growing convictions. We find him leaving the convent and acting as preacher in the castle of Francis von Sickingen at Ebernburg, near Mainz. Here he was allowed full liberty to conduct God's worship according to his convictions. He made Latin ceremonies give place to German preaching, and human ordinances to the divine Word. Yet he went to work prudently, and, as he said, "allowed one thing for sake of custom, and another for sake of love." The truth needed to mature in his own mind and many a thing to be cleared away before he could safely appear to do the work of a reformer. Yet his day was not far off. It was before the death of Sickingen (not after, as is usually said), that Œcolampadius left Ebernburg to go to Basel, on the invitation of his friend, the publisher Kratander (November, 1522). He at first lived in scholarly seclusion, enjoying a noble hospitality, and toiling for his friend upon a translation of Chrysostom. Soon the door opened for him to go to work in the church of Basel.

A vicar was needed by Zanker, the pastor of Martin's church, who was sick. Œcolampadius took the place without salary; Finds his place. soon after a lectureship in the university, with a slight compensation, was given him by the council. And so, in 1523, he began his academic work with lectures on the prophet Isaiah, over which Luther expressed his joy in a letter to him dated June 23d. His career had begun. He whom Basel loves to call her reformer was possessed of pulpit and professor's desk. True evangelical thought had reached Basel before. A large part of the people inclined to reformed doctrine as it reached the masses through Luther's writings. Still the new rising Christian liberty found first in Œcolampadius personal support, eloquent defense, and strong championship. Every day he preached to the people what he had presented to his students, in a scholarly form, the day previous. Nor was he unsupported in his reforming effort. He had a trusted friend in Zwingle of Zürich, keeping up a lively correspondence with him, for mutual encouragement. The Basel council by degrees entered into his reforms. When it made him permanent pastor, it gave the Reformation a decided impulse. He did not lack for active opposition. He found suspicions excited against him, as an agitator, on the part of the majority of the clergy and of the university. The worldly-wise Erasmus withdrew more and more from him. He was given many troublous hours by the riotous anabaptists. He attempted to correct them in conferences, first in his home, then in Martin's church and the council chamber, but in vain. He also had a part in the unhappy controversy on the Lord's Supper, in which he took an independent position, sharing in general in the views of Zwingle; he differed from him, in part, as to the support of it from Scripture. Though disliking learned discussions, he was obliged

to take part in two famous debates, and exerted in both of them a great influence. One was the Baden conference (May, 1526),
His great debates. where, in Zwingle's absence, he maintained the cause of reform against its bitter opposers, with Eck as their leader; the other, the Marburg colloquy (October, 1529), in which he and Luther tried to come to an understanding on the Lord's Supper. He distinguished himself in both by a calm, dignified demeanor. We find him also at the Berne assembly (January, 1528), but in the background as compared with Zwingle. All this while the reform movement (whose detail we cannot follow here) was going on in his own city, he exerting a quiet but decided influence. His correct view of reform appears in a pastoral letter addressed to the pastors of his region (during a church visitation in the autumn of 1528). He showed in simple, beautiful words that all who wished to purify and improve the church must begin with themselves. The servant of Christ must see that the pattern of his life accords with the purity of his creed. "Let it be our wisdom to preach Jesus Christ, the crucified. Let the object of every discourse be to extol the riches and glory of the grace of God to us." He exalted love above severity, expressing the wish that frequent brotherly conferences might take place, for mutual warning, support, and encouragement.

When reform had carried the day in Basel (February, 1529), by the resolute will of the citizens, in the face of threatening tumults, it was a doubly happy circumstance that one like Œcolampadius grasped the helm, and undertook to steer the little vessel, tossed of waves and winds, into the safe harbor. He not only had to toil in the enterprise, but also to vindicate it after the adherents of the old church, and Erasmus among them, had turned their backs upon the heretic city, and withdrawn from its university their help and favor. The tearing down, for which so many hands were ready, as was seen in the image-breaking, was easier than the building up. This wanted not only active hands, but a clear, strong head and a pious, believing heart. Œcolampadius gave both head and heart to the service of his city. He succeeded, naturally, to the superintendency of the church after the departure of the bishops. He was the restorer of the university. He attracted to her Simon Grynäus and other men of learning. He also cared for the under schools, which were now separated from the church and under the care of the state. He promoted, by the Latin schools, as they were called, a thorough academical training. A friend of morality, he favored discipline for adults in the church, as well as for youth in the school. In this he differed somewhat from Zwingle. The latter, disliking anything that resembled the old priestly tyranny and forcing of consciences, would not allow the church to excommunicate, but left it to the Christian civil magistrate to punish vice. Œcolampadius distinguished between state policy and church discipline. He did not carry out his desire in this suc-

cessfully, for the government would take only half-way measures. He was less successful still in bringing the other Swiss cantons to his views. Haller, in Berne, opposed him. Of all Swiss reformers before Calvin, Œcolampadius had best declared and emphasized the church's independence of the state. "More unendurable than antichrist," he was convinced, "does the state become when she deprives the church of respect. She, it is true, bears the sword, and justly. But Christ has given to us medicines for the restoration of the fallen. He has said of the transgressor, Let him hear, not the state, but the church." Œcolampadius would have given the synod more power than the state allowed it. He wished it to be not a mere means for preserving clerical discipline, but a representative of the whole church. Through it and in it the church was to attain the consciousness of her divine vocation. We have still some addresses to synods by Œcolampadius, which show how highly he esteemed the office of an evangelical preacher and pastor, and how thoroughly he made it a matter of conscience to defend the temple of God from profanation, and to breathe into the languid, sick body of the church a new life. Before he could fully carry out his noblest views (and what mortal ever is granted such privilege!), he was summoned away by Him whom he had served with singleness and fidelity. He was deeply affected by the death of his friend Zwingle in the battle of Cappel (October 11, 1531). He did not tarry in following him. His death was not on the battle-field, yet he fell under the load of work which he had undertaken for his Master. He had been admonished in vain to spare himself. He was intent upon working while it was day. He felt that his end was near.¹ He warned his friends of his departure (November 21, 1531). A few years before he had married Wilibrandis Rosenblatt, of a noble family, and had been given three children, Eusebius, Aletheia, and Irene (or Piety, Truth, and Peace). To his dear friends, among whom we place his servants and his lodger, John Gundelsinger, he said, "Sorrow not, my loved ones! I shall not part from you forever. I go away from this vale of sorrow to the blessed life eternal. You should be glad to know that soon I shall be in the place of endless bliss." He celebrated the communion in company with his wife, their kindred, and the servants. He said, "This holy meal is a sign of my true faith in Christ Jesus, my Lord, Saviour, and Redeemer, — a true sign of the love which He hath bequeathed to us; be it my last farewell to you." The day following he assembled his brethren in office about his bed, and impressed upon their minds the church's interests. He reminded them of Christ's saving work, admonishing them to walk in his footsteps, and to show a love all the stronger as the times grew dark and

¹ An ulcer on the os sacrum long troubled him, and finally compelled him to take his bed. The disease gradually spread to the inner organs. All medical art was of no avail against his obstinate malady.

stormy. He called them to witness that he had meant well to the church, and had not, as his enemies charged, led her to ruin. They, as they stood around, gave him their hands, and solemnly promised him to think of the church's welfare. Finally, the day before his death, he asked to see his little children, "the pledges of his wedded love." He told them they must love their Father in heaven. He charged their mother and kindred to see that they fulfilled their names, and proved pious, peaceful, and God-fearing. His last hour drew near. The clergy were all by his bedside. As a friend entered, he asked him if he brought any news. Upon his replying no, he said cheerfully, "Then I will tell you something new. I will soon be with my Lord Christ." When one asked whether the light was troubling him, he pointed to his heart, saying, "There is enough light here." At daybreak, November 24th, the first rays entering his chamber fell upon a form from which life had just fled. With the sigh, "Lord Jesus, aid me!" the faithful shepherd fell asleep. The ten ministers were by him, kneeling, and accompanying, with silent prayers, his soul, as it struggled to leave its frail tenement. His grave is in the cloister of the cathedral of Basel. Near by are the graves of Jacob Meyer and Simon Grynäus. Their epitaph, composed in 1542, reads thus:—

"So Ehr, gut, kunst hilfend in Not,
Wer keiner von disen Dryen todt."

But the divine Word, which we may apply to our Cœolampadius, expresses far more when it says, "Remember them . . . who have spoken unto you the word of God, whose faith follow." — K. R. H.

LIFE IX. OLAF PETERSON.

A. D. 1497—A. D. 1552. CLERICAL LEADER.—SWEDEN.

No sooner had the Reformation risen in Germany than its flood began to pour in all directions. Its truths were so plain, the errors of the ancient church so palpable, the assaults upon her abuses so well grounded, that a large part of Latin Christendom was at once won over. Still the old usages resisted everywhere this movement of the Spirit. The spectacle thus exhibited in the various nations and governments of Europe is unsurpassed in interest. The moment Luther and Melanthon published their views, a throng from neighboring countries hastened to their side. One and another of these hurried from Wittenberg back to their homes, to begin with enthusiasm a task the completion of which would demand the greatest efforts. Of the lands thus brought into the conflict, each one reveals to the student its own peculiar form and color, different from every other. The reformers prove as diverse as the lands whence

they sprang. Their similarity in some things is evident. Their diversity is much more prominent. While these active spirits followed largely the counsel and example of Luther, and agreed in the main with his principles, they went every one of them his own way, unlike that of Luther or any other.

Germany's influence was felt in the largest degree by the Swedes. With our other Scandinavian neighbors they accepted the Lutheran reformed constitution, which they strictly maintain to-day, and by means of which they have grown great and renowned. Yet how different were the occurrences by which evangelical religion won the day here from the course of events in Sweden!

The story of the beginning of the Reformation in Sweden is easy to be told. At Oerebro, in the province of Nerike, lived a master-smith named Peter Olafson, who had two sons: Olaf, born in 1497, or the ^{Peterson's family} same year with Melancthon, and Lawrence, born in 1499, called Olaus Petri and Laurentius Petri. Their father and their mother (who was named Karin, daughter of Lorenz) were plain persons, and pious after the fashion of their age. Faithful and energetic, they had the welfare of their sons very much at heart. They gave them early to the care of the Carmelite monks, who had a great reputation for their learning. The youths soon mastered the rudiments, outstripping their fellows, and were set apart to become priests. Their parents wished them to go to Rome for their theological course, to an institution founded in that city by Bridget, the Swedish saint (who died in Rome in 1373, and was declared a saint in 1391). Thither, or to Paris, where was a similar school for the aid of Swedes, the youthful Swedes were used to go, that they might come back with the glory obtained by residence in those cities, and with enlarged efficiency. But these brothers were directed on their pathway in a very different direction. Hardly had they left Sweden and entered Germany, when they heard of Luther. Hastening to Wittenberg, they entered as students of theology. They found the warmest welcome and most friendly assistance. Their names were entered on the matriculation book, after an examination, with remarks of approval. Luther was then in his first era, and growing every year towards the apprehension of his great vocation as a reformer. Olaf, with Lawrence, listened to Luther's lectures on the Bible, and being received into the Augustine cloister lived under the immediate eye of the master. Soon ^{Lives with Luther.} he won Luther's regard. When the latter was made vicar of the Augustines (by Staupitz, 1516), Olaf went with him to visit the convents in Meissen and Thuringia. He there became a witness of Luther's activity at this juncture, and was introduced to his manner of thought and life. He learned also the defects of the monasteries by personal observation, and saw the way in which they must be cured. Thus it became easy for Olaf to mould himself after his revered master.

He had a share in all that occupied Luther's attention. He saturated himself with the truths of the Bible. He was present with Luther in 1517, when the latter formed the brave resolve to oppose the selling of indulgences, when he nailed up his ninety-five theses on the church door, and when he plunged into the battles which followed. At twenty-one (1518), Olaf became a doctor of philosophy; his brother, who was nineteen, taking the degree at the same time. In August, 1518, his equal in age, Philip Melancthon, came to be professor in Wittenberg, and gave the prevailing movement a new impulse. The brothers were among his first pupils, gaining from him an insight into the Greek language and philosophy. At the time when Luther said of the university, "They are all as busy as ants," the two Swedes were included in his praise. Everything was favorable to their thorough understanding of the Bible. This was their chief gain which they carried with them, when they left Wittenberg and the university, not without taking counsel with Luther, and returned to their homes in Sweden (1519).

Sweden had witnessed startling events while Olaf and his brother were in Wittenberg. Christian Second, who ruled Denmark and Norway, wished to reëstablish the union by taking the crown of Sweden. He met defeat in a great battle near Stockholm (July 22, 1518), from the regent Sten Sture, but resolved to make a second effort. He spent a whole year in preparation. An excommunication and interdict against Sweden were published by the pope. Christian was authorized to execute them by force. In the very midst of these disorders, Olaf, with Lawrence, reached home. He sailed from Lübeck, but was detained by a storm. He repaired to Wisby, in Gothia, and found opportunity here to labor after the fashion of Luther. One Antonellus Arcimbaldus had been sent by his brother, Angellius Arcimbaldus, the papal legate, to carry on a trade in indulgences. Olaf instructed the people and their admiral, Norby, upon the hurtful and selfish character of this traffic, and so successfully that the peddler of pardons was driven away. Norby also took his money from him, which made Olaf, who hated selfishness of motive, dissolve relations with the admiral. Olaf made his way to Strengnäs, where his old bishop, Matthew, received him joyfully, and soon made him canon and archdeacon of his cathedral. Thus Olaf's time of training came to a close. He now had an office in which he could show what was in him, and make an entrance-way for his belief. With Begins his life youthful zeal and full devotion of his powers, he at once work. began his work. First he addressed himself to the young prebends and choristers, to whom he gave Bible expositions which met great applause and drew pupils to him from every direction. An open dispute with the dean of the cathedral was of great help to him. One large advantage obtained thereby for himself and his fatherland was the friendship and complete adherence of archdeacon Anderson, a man of

about his own age, who joined himself to the reformed doctrine and to Olaf absolutely and finally, and by his knowledge of life and his extended culture was of the greatest help to the good cause. Anderson, Olaf Peterson, and Lawrence Peterson, together, are the leaders of the Swedish Reformation.

Strengnäs first became through them the home of reforming agencies, which rapidly extended to city and country, and even to remote provinces. To employ all Olaf's talents in church revival, Matthew made him rector of the cathedral school, following the advice of Anderson. Great results ensued. Beginning with the youth, Olaf exerted a profound and ever-increasing influence on the entire province and nation.

Before this came to pass, Olaf, with his brother and the whole evangelical movement, had been in the greatest danger. Christian Second had (in the beginning of 1520) repeated his attack on Sweden, divided his opponents, and taken the capital. With most peaceful and friendly promises, he invited the nobles to Stockholm to his coronation, resolving on a bloody revenge, to which the archbishop Gustavus Trolle had advised him. The third day of the festivities (November 8, 1520), the citizens were summoned to the market-place, where, before noon, two bishops, twelve nobles, and many citizens were put to death. Olaf, hearing that a violent death threatened bishop Matthew, even though the latter had most decidedly favored Christian, hurried to the place of execution. At the sight of the corpse of his loved patron, he cried out, "Oh, what a tyrannical, unmanly deed, to treat thus a pious bishop!" At once he, with his brother, was seized, and would have been executed, had not Edward Leuf, who was with them in Wittenberg, exclaimed: "Spare the youths! They are not Swedes, but Germans! Spare them, for God's sake!" Saved thus, they returned to Strengnäs, stronger in the consciousness that the hand of God was protecting them. Through this tragedy at Stockholm, which won Christian the name of a cruel tyrant, and gained archbishop Trolle the deep and deserved hatred of the people, a great deliverance came to Sweden: she threw off the Danish yoke by the aid of Gustavus Ericson, that "noble, handsome, wise, prompt youth, whom God excited to save his country." After many fearful conflicts which laid his country waste, Gustavus Ericson, or Vasa, was proclaimed king (at the Reichstag in Strengnäs, June 7, 1523), "in the name of God, and of the free peasants of Sweden." Under him began a new and happier era. The old wounds were slowly healed. The edifice of the evangelic church was gladly begun, and at last completed. The conflict indeed continued, but instead of open war it took the form of political dispute. By the genuine wisdom of the ruler chosen by the people, this was given a happy solution. Luther, in Germany, had guarded against nothing more than allowing religious reform to be urged on from political grounds. In Sweden it was at first not possible to promote religion on its own merits,

Narrowly es-
capes death.

nor to keep it from connection with politics. The king was the centre of everything. He sought the welfare of both church and state. He undertook to harmonize both interests. His decrees and appeals to the people related to religion as often as to politics. By these kingly attempts he gave offense, and afforded grounds for complaint, first to the Romanist, then to the evangelical leaders. But he publicly vindicated his conduct.

Olaf Peterson's sermons, during the Reichstag which chose Gustavus king, excited the attention of both friends and foes. Gustavus espoused his cause, and promoted what Olaf and Lawrence, along with Anderson, ^{The king favors} had desired, a public recognition of the Reformation. He reform. made Anderson his chancellor, to succeed Matthew. Having first obtained Luther's advice, he made Olaf preacher in Stockholm, and Lawrence professor of theology in Upsala. The three wrought untiringly, each trying to make his office yield the largest results for the good of Sweden. Anderson published a Swedish New Testament, avail- ing himself of the model furnished by Luther. It appeared as early as 1526, and greatly helped reform. Every reader could now judge for himself of the truth of Olaf's sermons and addresses. The book of Job and the rest of the Old Testament were published by Lawrence and Olaf after the year 1549.

The leader of the evangelic church needed to advance very carefully. A portion of the nation held to the forms and usages of the old worship. Along with them were some of the most active clergy, who were also chiefs of the aristocracy. These kept their offices, and wielded great influence with both clergy and laity. Gustavus, for their sakes, retained many of the old ceremonies, and took pains to prevent all extreme measures. He opposed the young preachers who behaved thoughtlessly and rashly. He counseled them to keep within the bounds of decorum and morality. When Melchior, Ring, and Knipperdalling tried to introduce their anabaptist excitement into Sweden, they were expelled from the kingdom. Olaf, who had kept silence, was told to preach against them.

None the less, everything was moving on rapidly. The three friends lived in close relations with the king and with one another. If they excited the envy and hate of their foes, they found a strong protector in Gustavus. Another Wittenberg student, Michael Langerben, was appointed a preacher in Stockholm, and aided their work. They evinced their expectation of success by the device they placed on their seal, — a burning lamp, symbolizing the light of the gospel. The king omitted no opportunity, as he journeyed over the land, of wisely and gently coun- celing his clergy to moderation, and of promoting peace. At the close of 1524 he went to Upsala, taking Olaf with him. He appointed a formal conference between the latter and a representative of the opposite party, named Galle. Gustavus himself had named the questions to be discussed. The orators became so severe that Gustavus adjourned the

debate. Yet he agreed with Olaf, in that he argued wholly from Scripture, while his opponent relied on the fathers and on tradition. The chief points were further discussed in writing instead of orally. Thus also the work of reform was advanced. In 1525 Olaf ventured to marry, helping to do away with clerical celibacy through his own example. The king attended the wedding, and defended the step in a letter to bishop Bräsch, who had censured him. Gustavus declared marriage a divine ordinance for all persons, and clerical marriage entirely lawful. A Reichstag at Westeräs, in the summer of 1527, seemed at first likely to prove unfavorable to reform. The king thereupon declared that he should abdicate. This decidedly changed the voice of the assembly. It resolved to leave everything to the king, making over ^{Reform estab-} to him all the church property. The hostile bishops and ^{lished.} clergy left the country. Olaf's protestantizing work was now for the most part accomplished. A new archbishop was named to celebrate solemnly the king's coronation (January 11, 1529). Olaf was herald, and proclaimed Gustavus the anointed king of Sweden.

Olaf's zeal for reform was widened. He contended ably with his pen for his lofty views. He could not obtain in the council which met at Oerebro, with Lawrence as president, as much as he desired. He had to suffer a portion of the old papal usages to continue, yet in such way and with such limitations as would promote true doctrine in the future. The king sustained him so far as to commit to him (1531) the royal seal, and to confide to him the secrets of state. He gave him also the oversight of schools in Stockholm, desiring him to provide for the training of teachers. His brother Lawrence was made archbishop of Upsala. Olaf exerted a growing influence upon the youth of Sweden and their studies. Besides his translations of portions of the Bible, he wrote several histories.

Olaf was now at his greatest elevation. He lost the king's favor by his histories, for he blamed Gustavus for appropriating the church property to his own use. Falling into disgrace (1538) and losing his influence, he committed further political offenses, and brought upon himself serious charges. Along with his friend Anderson, he was ^{Olaf's trials in} convicted (1539) by a court convened for their trial, under ^{his last days.} the presidency of his brother Lawrence, of knowing of dangerous treason against the king, and of not disclosing it. They were sentenced to death, but pardoned by Gustavus. Olaf's misfortune arose from the unhappy complication of politics then existing in Sweden. Its hardship was mitigated by manifest signs of the favor in which he stood with most of the nation. Yet he never regained his old cheerfulness. He resumed his work as preacher. Upon the 7th of April, 1543, he delivered a touching and powerful discourse on his misfortune. He toiled usefully till he was fifty-five, and closed his life the 7th of April, 1552, "after a Chris-

tian and edifying preparation, and an express confession of his faith in Jesus Christ." Gustavus was grieved at his death. Olaf's bereaved people erected a marble memorial to him in the Nicholas church. Sorrow over the deserved displeasure of his king had brought an early death to Olaf. How serious his fault was the existing records do not allow us to decide.

Seven centuries had passed away since Ansgar, the Frankish apostle of the North, had with unspeakable labor and care established the Christian church in Sweden. Amid no less hardships, the Swedish Olaf established the reformed church in the place of the Romish, now ruined by immorality and pride, and opened the way for the Word of God into his fatherland. Both men, by their heroism and divine power, have deserved that their memories be revived and dwelt upon. Olaf began and carried on his work with the purest and most zealous purpose. If he inclined afterwards to hierarchical views, and through want of foresight and self-control, and perhaps through an overestimate of himself, committed faults, he repented for them most heartily. Sweden ever will count him noble and worthy, for he toiled patriotically for his country. He exalted her language by his writings, her poetry by his songs, her stores of knowledge by his histories, his laws, and his pursuit of learning; above all, as a Christian of Luther's order, he lighted her pathway, and led her along a road which gave her afterwards, under Gustavus Adolphus, her world-wide influence and renown.—F. R.

LIFE X. WILLIAM FAREL.

A. D. 1489—A. D. 1565. CLERICAL LEADER,—FRANCE AND FRENCH SWITZERLAND.

LESS than two centuries ago (1700), there could be seen in the church-yard of Neuchâtel a tombstone, bearing engraved upon it a cross, or as some say a sword, or as we incline to think the two together. Nor could any truer or better emblem have been found to mark the resting-place of the man who, banished from France for his religion, lifted high the cross on the confines of his old home, and with the sword of the Spirit breasted a thousand toils and dangers to make a way for the gospel. We speak of William Farel, who is remembered by French Switzerland as her first, if not her greatest, gospel teacher and reformer. He was born in 1489, among the green hills of Dauphiny, in a little village between Gap and Grenoble, which still bears his family name. His lineage was ancient and noble. The Farels of old were noted for zeal for the religion of their times, for strong adherence to the church's doctrines and traditions, for conscientious fulfillment of her rules, for devotion to her legends

and miracles, her saints and images. The ardent boy unreservedly followed the same path, a true son of the south, as he was, full of spirit and imagination, his dark eyes shining with intellect and feeling, his small yet sinewy frame bespeaking energy and activity. He himself tells us, in sad retrospect, how devoutly he went with his parents to a certain wonder-working cross near his home, and how his eyes were not opened even by all the equivocal occurrences which there confronted him. His thoughtfulness, love of knowledge, and deep though misguided religious zeal impelled him to a life of study. He overcame his father's objections by his perseverance, and since his province afforded no opportunity for thorough training, he betook himself (about 1510) to the famous University of Paris. There he was to enter a new existence, unsought by him and unexpected.

One of the great scholars of Paris was James Lefèvre, of Étaples, a doctor of the Sorbonne (also known by his Latin name of ^{Studies under} *Faber Stapulensis*). A friend of the existing religion, its ^{Faber.} hierarchy, institutions, and customs, he yet could not bar his mind against the spirit of inquiry everywhere rising. He wished to vivify scholastic theology by giving it scientific clearness, as well as by a return to the thorough study of the Bible. The former tendency, not the latter, first drew Farel to his side. They were one in their simple fervor of piety and depth of devotion, as they showed in their prayers and masses, keeping of holy days, and adorning of churches and altars. But when there kindled at times in the twilight of Lefèvre's mind the flash of a higher consciousness, the bosom of his friend and pupil was illumined also. Farel never forgot Lefèvre's saying to him once, "William, God designs a new thing in the world, and thou shalt be witness of it." He was seized with doubts, nor could he, much as he sought to cling to the revered authority of the church, attain any satisfaction of mind. He sought help in the Scriptures; but their entire contents seemed to him in such plain contradiction to the state of religion about him that he could quiet himself, and that not entirely, only by the thought that for want of thorough training he had not rightly understood them. "I was," he writes of that time in his life, "the most unhappy of men. I shut my eyes, that I might not see." Not until he was turned from old legends to the epistles of Paul, and saw there the foundation truth, justification by grace through faith, and began defending it with increasing devotion, did he clearly perceive the doctrine, "Nothing from works; everything from grace." Perceiving, he was convinced. One error after another vanished. The saints yielded to Christ only; the supremacy of the papacy became a device of the devil; human teachings in religion yielded to the supreme authority of God's Word. Farel plunged into the Scriptures with zeal and thirst for truth; studied the Greek and the Hebrew; found the prevailing worship more and more absurd and idolatrous. All this began

as early as 1512, and hence many a year before the voice of Luther was heard through Europe.

Commotion in religion grew in Paris. There gathered a band of men, more or less impressed by the gospel. Lefèvre was the soul of the movement. Besides Farel, who was a master in the Lemoine College, and other young men, there adhered to it also William Briçonnet, count of Montbrun and bishop of Meaux, who had been on an embassy to Rome. Their cause found patrons and friends at court, also, especially in Margaret of Valois, a princess of great mind and heart, and through her even in king Francis himself. But the latter was soon led by his mother and his chancellor, Duprat, into the well-known "concordat," forming a close alliance with the papacy. This new policy sought at once to control the university, whose president, Nathaniel Beda, was the sworn foe of all innovations. The king, indeed, interposed a decided "no" to judicial persecutions, yet the air became so close in Paris, and the Farel forced to condition of affairs so trying, that the brethren were glad to quit Paris. accept a retreat which was offered them by Briçonnet at Meaux. In his diocese a series of reforms was undertaken. Several unworthy secularized pastors were removed, and a theological seminary opened, in which Farel found scope for his zeal and abilities. Little by little, Lefèvre brought out his noble translation of the Bible into the French language. Instructive and edifying tracts were printed. The people thronged to hear gospel preaching, often from the lips of the bishop. Societies were formed for reading and studying the Word of God. Meanwhile there was opposition by the secular priests and monks, whose interests were threatened. Threats were made of a crusade against the too hasty and sanguine friends of reform. The king was to be proscribed if he tolerated them. Briçonnet was denounced in parliament, but was equal to defending his own person. Yet he took the first long step backwards when he withdrew permission to preach from his brethren (1523). Though Lefèvre received an acquittal from a royal commission, the circle had lost its support, and was broken up. Farel, after a short stay in Paris, went to his home, where he continued preaching, and had the good fortune to win four of his brothers to the side of gospel truth. Brought up before the court in Gap, mistreated and expelled from the city, he went as a missionary about the country. Seeing little result from his work, and wishing to study the Reformation in the lands of its origin, influenced also by the invitations of friends who had left France, Farel started for Basel. Making his journey secretly, he reached that city with difficulty (1524).

He was made welcome by Ecolampadius, who received him as a guest and a near friend. On the other hand, Farel and Erasmus, from their unlikeness, repelled each the other, and became opponents. That Farel had faults was seen by Ecolampadius, who strove especially to moderate

his fiery impetuosity. Hating to be idle, Farel sought leave to defend thirteen propositions of his, publicly, which was denied him by the university, but granted by the council. When he found no opponent, he proceeded, with the help of *Œcolampadius*, to publish his propositions and expound them. On returning to Basel from a journey to East Switzerland, where he made the acquaintance of *Zwingle*, he found the sentiment of the council changed, and was obliged, at its command, to leave the city. *Œcolampadius* could do nothing for him save express his indignation at the order, and commend him to *Capito* and *Luther*. Farel reached Strassburg, and formed intimate relations with her preachers. He did not go on to Wittenberg, for a field near by laid claim to his energies.

An evangelical preacher was wanted by Mümpelgart, the residence of *Ulrich*, the exiled duke of Würtemberg. The latter giving his consent, Farel, after reflection, was led by *Œcolampadius* to go thither (summer, 1524). The place was well situated for work in France through preachers and teachers, through colporteurs carrying Bibles and evangelical books into Burgundy, Southern France, and Lorraine. Farel's preaching was as welcome with the people as it was unpopular with the nobility and clergy. He obliged a monk of *Besançon* who attacked him to retract assertions which he could not prove. Farel's ardor increased with success, though he was warned from Basel to be moderate. Once, as he was crossing a little bridge, he met, it is said, a procession in honor of *St. Anthony*. With a burst of rash zeal, he snatched the image from the priest and threw it into the stream. "You wretched idolaters," he said, "will you never leave off your idolatry!" He happily escaped a mob, but very naturally was obliged to bring his stay in Mümpelgart to a close. He went by way of Basel to Stuttgart, where he met, along with other exiles, his old instructor, *Lefèvre*.

He found a new door open to him, when Berne, after the discussion at Baden, inclined more fully to the Reformation. By means of his friends in Basel, Farel was sent (fall, 1526) to the French-speaking district of Aigle, in a mountain nook between Vaud and Valais. He went first as a school-teacher, under the assumed name of *Ursinus*, with Finds his great work. out salary; afterwards he was formally appointed preacher and teacher together. He had a hard position. The ignorant people, led by their priests and monks, opposed him. The Bernese governor and his magistrates at first put obstacles in his way. Undismayed, he persevered, protected as he was by Berne. He had a case in court with a monk, who called him from the pulpit a seducer and a devil. When his opponent was beaten and asked pardon, Farel generously and heartily offered him his hand. He tried by letters, with poor success, to win converts in the neighboring district of Lausanne. He took part in the colloquy at Berne (1528). Reformation carried the day; but to establish

it cost harder work in Aigle, probably, than anywhere else. Farel, having liberty to preach, went everywhere, in the face of threatening and peril. He, along with Berne and the gospel, was thoroughly calumniated. In Ollon he met violence from a mob of men and women. At last, a new governor and a deputy coming from Berne, and exercising stricter justice, peace and quiet prevailed. Farel found helpers, and gave them employment.

His fearless spirit was made useful elsewhere, in Morat, which belonged to Berne and Freiburg. Receiving the Reformation, the district became Farel's headquarters. He went to Lausanne, by leave of Berne, but without success. On the other hand, neither the bishop of Basel nor the abbot of Bellelay could prevent Neuveville, on Lake Bienne, becoming reformed under Farel's labors. In the Münster valley he preached with such power that the people cleansed their churches of pictures and altars, while their priests fled away. The most prominent place entered by Farel was Neuchâtel. Belonging to the duchess of Longueville-Hochberg, it was in alliance with Berne. Local influences, the corruption of the clergy, greater than in almost any other place, and church abuses had prepared a way for the Reformation. Farel's first sermon was from a stone at Serrières. Asked into the city by the people, he preached on its streets and squares. He toiled through the summer (1530) amid difficulties. He was given the hospital chapel. Finally, on the 23d of October, he ventured the declaration, as it seems, in accordance with a resolve of the magistracy already formed, that it became the gospel no less than the mass to be heard in the cathedral. The entire multitude arose to take Farel thither. Attempted opposition only excited their ardor. An entrance to the pulpit was effected. Farel's powerful eloquence aroused a tempest against images and other marks of superstition that lasted all the next day. The governor, count de Rive, thinking that the great majority held to the old faith, and only the noisy mob took the other side, wished a vote taken immediately, but had to await the commissioners from Berne. When these arrived, and the charges of violence and riot had been met by countercharges and assurances of adherence to their duchess, save in matters of faith, a vote was taken (November 4th), and a majority, small indeed, decided for the purer religion. All attempts to overthrow the decision by force or craft were thwarted by the firmness of the Bernese. The duchess's rights were taken care of, but so were the religious liberties of the citizens, and of any who might follow their example.

To carry reform in the country parishes was Farel's next desire, which he pursued fearlessly and untiringly. One evening, at Valangin, after he had preached, and his comrades in unwise zeal had snatched the host out of the priest's hand, they were fallen upon by a mob, beaten, and dragged to the castle. They were urged to adore an image of Mary, but in vain. They endured repeated violence from the priests, and were thrown bleed-

ing into prison, from which they were delivered by friends from Neu-châtel. The demand of Berne for satisfaction was refused, the whole affair winning the approval of the duchess. Farel met like difficulties elsewhere, even in the territory of Berne. At Orbe and Grandson the attempt was made, even in the face of the Berne councilors, to render Farel's preaching of no avail, by noise and outcries, without violence. But Farel went right on, preaching twice a day for six days, and not in vain. He won some of the adherents of the old belief, and especially the modest youth Peter Viret, who became a servant of the truth and a warm friend of Farel. So wholly did Farel pursue his reforming work that he had no time for his private affairs or his correspondence. Yet he took leisure to write a circular letter to his brethren everywhere, exhorting them to endurance and hope in their battle for God against a soul-destroying antichrist.

Farel entered Geneva first in October, 1532, when on a journey to the Waldensians of Piedmont, at their request, to help them perfect their church government. His fame preceded him. Farel first enters Geneva. He was visited, at his hotel in Geneva, by many of the citizens. The council, under the influence of his opponents and their Freiburg allies, would have banished him and his companion, Antony Saunier. But when they sheltered themselves behind the safe-conduct of Berne, they were let alone. They were invited to meet the chapter on the pretense of a conference. Two syndics went with them as protectors. The precaution proved needful. They found themselves accused as vagrants and seducers, and covered with abuse by the clergy, not a few of whom carried weapons. Farel calmly stated his aim and calling, the preaching of God's Word to any who would hear. Not he, but they, it was who troubled Israel. During their secret deliberations a shot was fired at Farel, but without hurting him. He was ordered to leave the city within three hours. He was spared, it was said, out of mercy and consideration for the Bernese. When Farel remonstrated against being sentenced unheard, he was overwhelmed with outcries and calumnies: "What need we any further witness; he is worthy of death!" was the cry. "It is better that the heretic die than that he ruin the people." Farel answered, "Speak with God, and not with Caiaphas." In vain! He was attacked, trodden down, and struck in the face. Daggers were drawn, and only the intervention of a syndic saved him. The next morning, early, he was taken by friends over the lake. His countryman, Antony Froment, who had just arrived from France, was sent by him to Geneva, as a substitute.

Romanism still prevailed in Geneva. To meet preaching by preaching she set up a Dominican monk, Guy Furbity, to declaim in the cathedral against the "Germans and other heretics." The Bernese took this as an insult to themselves. They sent a commissioner, under whose protection

Farel and Viret also came to Geneva. On account of the threats of the popish party, the council took half-way measures. Then other agents of Berne threatened a dissolution of their alliance with Geneva, and in face of opposing threats by Freiburg, the Bernese influence and their ^{Carries the day} decided "Yes or No" ("Entweder-Oder") carried the day. in Geneva. After many evasions and appeals to church courts and to the Sorbonne school, of which he was a doctor, Furbity was obliged to enter into a conference. It was held in the council chamber (January 29 to February 11, 1534), and opened by Farel in a conciliatory tone. He said, "The most beautiful victory is to uphold the truth; I would lay down my life with joy to secure the acceptance of it by all." Furbity failed in proving from Scripture the obligation of fast days. He refused a public recantation, and was imprisoned. A second Romanist preacher, of more moderation, took his place. The Bernese demanded that their people should also be allowed to preach. The council continued undecided. The people led Farel into the church of the friars. The bells rang, inviting the people for the first time to reformed preaching (March 1st). Reform made rapid advances. Freiburg broke her league with this city. The Lord's Supper was held according to Christ's institution (Whitsuntide). The priests forsook their altars. The frustrated plots to overthrow the city, the attempt to poison the preachers, the excommunication of Geneva by a bishop and by the pope, only excited indignation at the authors of these measures. One church after another was won by the gospel. A new conference in the friars' cloister, in which John Bernard, the chief of the order, who had been converted by Farel justified his change of life, promoted reform greatly. Geneva could not but decide. The Council of the Two Hundred was addressed by Farel, so persuasively and eloquently (July 12th) that after the question had been once more asked of the priests whether they could present anything further for their side, the assembly resolved in favor of the Reformation (August 27th). The new order was ushered in with due formalities.

Farel's work was not hurt by the attacks from abroad of his opponents, who had fled away, and of their allies. The city solemnly pledged itself to peace and to the gospel. Farel sought to reform not faith only, but also life, to elevate morals and promote Christian training and education. He toiled untiringly. He had to be everywhere,—in Geneva, in the country, in Vaud, which had been recently conquered by Berne. He needed good stout helpers. He was sent by God a man, the very one he sought. One day (1536) came a young man of twenty-seven, not unknown to the world even then, an exile, passing through Geneva, his name John Calvin. He purposed spending but one night in the city, going on to Basel and Strassburg the next morning. Farel, hearing of his presence, hastened to him, and asked him to remain to serve

Christ and his church. Calvin replied with a refusal, showing a preference for a literary life.

“With holy indignation burning, Elijah-like, see Farel turning!

‘The call of God thou hearest rising! Alas, if thou art Him despising! ’”

Farel said, “Cursed be thy studies, if thou shunnest for their sake the work of God.”

“At Farel’s word see Calvin quailing, as though God’s hand were him assailing!

He takes the work, though hard its guerdon; at God’s command he bears the burden.”

Of Farel’s fruitful life, no moment was more fruitful than this, none more important to mankind.

In close alliance with Calvin, Farel toiled to make Geneva a city of God and fortress of the gospel. He was nowise troubled that the rising star of Calvin dimmed his own. His heart was void of envy. He labored, preparing a confession of faith for Geneva, holding a discussion with anabaptists, taking part in a conference at Lausanne, which decided the future of Vaud. He, like Calvin, suffered banishment, when, for a moment, libertinism rose against the yoke of Christ. He went to Basel and Strassburg, the old hiding-places of such as wandered homeless for sake of their convictions.

But Farel was not forgotten in Neuchâtel. By the unanimous vote of the council, clergy, and citizens, he was recalled. Reluctantly he submitted to a yoke whose weight he had tried.

Called back to Neuchâtel.

But he could not do otherwise, after his words to Calvin, which were now repeated to himself. He returned to Neuchâtel (1538), which he made his chief place of labor for the rest of his life. Almost the whole district had received the gospel, and reformed, at least in part, the church government. Much was left Farel to do in clearing away, arranging, and completing. He was anxious for strict discipline, and had urged Berne to order it. He met the same opposition as in Geneva, proceeding especially from the higher classes. A prominent lady who had separated from her husband, without cause, met admonition and public rebuke with scorn and contempt. When the zealous Farel lamented from the pulpit the tolerance of such scandals and the throwing off of restraint, his foes at once seized their opportunity, and in a public meeting deprived him of his office. Their action was to take effect in two months. Farel was resolved “not to yield to Satan; God had given him the charge, and would require it at his hands.” Mediation was used. Calvin, Viret, and other friends hastened to him. Agents were sent from Berne, who, disliking Farel for personal or political reasons, took sides against him. Neuchâtel classis asked foreign churches to intercede. Farel went on during a time of pestilence doing his work calmly, believably, and more faithfully, if possible, than ever. Meanwhile, Basel, Strassburg, Constanț, and Zürich urged Neuchâtel and Berne to uphold him. The Bern-

ese yielded when they had in vain tried to persuade Farel to give up. By the time the two months had passed, a great majority reversed the vote to deprive Farel of his office, which he held with honor till his death.

Farel by no means confined himself to Neuchâtel, but wherever there was need of a defender or confessor of God's Word, there he was to be found engaged. To Geneva, especially, where he would rather be last than be first elsewhere, he gave attention and labor. By his powerful mediation Calvin was brought back to her; at each critical moment he hastened to the front, on the side of the church and of his friend. He took the liveliest interest in the fortunes of the Waldensians and of his persecuted brethren in France. He urged not only the Swiss rulers but the princes of Germany to give them succor. He went twice with Beza (in 1557) to Germany, on their account. He sought also for a union with the Lutherans, and thus brought on himself (who was the author of the agreement between Calvin and Bullinger) small thanks from the Swiss for what they chose to call his too compliant spirit.

In old age, amid ailments, Farel was prompt to occupy new ground fruitful in old and to recover what had been lost. He began a promising work (1557) in Pruntrut, the home of the prince-abbot of Basel, but was resisted by the clergy. He accepted promptly (1561) an invitation to his old home. He acquired new life when allowed to preach the word of God in Gap and Grenoble, hardly any opposing. He returned in hopeful mood, having left two young colleagues to continue the work. He took one more journey (1565), going to Metz. He had once before (1542) found the rulers there lukewarm and fearful. The people had been cold, notwithstanding his solemn assertion that no city had ever been left of God that cared for the religious good of its people. When the Lord's Supper had been administered by him, on an estate of the count Fürstenberg, to great throngs, they had been attacked by the troops of Lorraine; he and others received wounds, and with difficulty made their escape to Strassburg. But now the prospect was favorable. There was an evangelical church in Metz. The nobles generally adhered to it, and had Protestant princes and states to support them. Farel visited Metz, accompanied by a councilor of Neuchâtel. He met a hearty welcome, and preached that day with his old power. It was the last flame of his mighty spirit. He returned to Neuchâtel sick. Nursed by his wife (the daughter of a widowed refugee from France, and married by him not many years before this), he lived several weeks. He gave exhortations to his visitors, especially his brother pastors. He joyfully confessed the faith which he had taught and defended. The 13th of September, 1565, he gently took his departure, at the age of seventy-six, fifteen months after the death of Calvin.

Farel has not been rightly and fairly judged by all. He was no meek

Œcolampadius, no mild Melanchthon, but rather like Luther, a bold, knightly spirit. As such he was used by God for storming strongholds and doing the work of a pioneer. His much-blamed vehemence was on behalf of a holy cause, and not against individuals. "No man," his biographer says, "had so deeply and painfully wounded him as the unprincipled, false Peter Caroli; for none did he care more tenderly, work more faithfully, or hope more anxiously, until no ground of hope was left." The zeal of Farel could not be made tame and commonplace. The gospel was to him a passion. Let him who can say that he has attained, beyond Farel, its perfect standard, or that he has approximated it, and him alone, dare cast a stone at Farel's transgressions! — F. T.

LIFE XI. JOHN CALVIN.

A. D. 1509—A. D. 1564. CLERICAL LEADER, — FRANCE AND FRENCH SWITZERLAND.

WHO does not know Luther's remarkable history? Or who has not gone to Wittenberg to see his statue of bronze there, his church, his cell, and Melancthon's house and garden? Who has not made a pilgrimage up the rocky ascent of the Wartburg, where, after his mighty testimony for the truth at Worms, Luther found quiet repose? The story of Calvin, the reformer of southern lands, is less familiar. To make his acquaintance we must turn to Switzerland — to Geneva. There is no region on earth, a renowned traveler has said, that compares with the shores of Lake Leman. It lies a bright mirror of more than fifty miles of glassy surface, smiling vineyards looking into it, and rising behind them the crags embowered in foliage, the lofty glacier-clad pinnacles of the Alps of Savoy, and the majestic Mont Blanc. Upon this lake, at its southernmost extremity, is Geneva.

In this city, dating from mediæval days, stands an ancient Gothic temple. Its foundation has been traced all the way back to king Clovis. It bears the name, even as does the great temple in Rome, of the apostle Peter. The watchword of the city itself, chosen long before the Reformation, and when Geneva was under subjection to the dukes of Savoy, sounds like a prophecy of her coming destiny, — "After Darkness Light," "Post Tenebras Lux." The name of one narrow street of this city is now, as of old, Rue des Chanoines, and this was Calvin's residence. Let us return to an eventful day in the life of him who dwelt here.

One day the great city bell on St. Peter's, called "La Clémence," was set ringing in the early morning, to announce a great feast- Calvin at twenty-eight. We behold a man of middle stature hastening along with rapid strides, a black cap upon his head, with face long rather than

oval, and with pointed brown beard. He has a bright, unembarrassed mien, though stern resolve is in his bearing. A brother clergyman accompanies him. The citizens greet him with looks of eager interest. He hastens to St. Peter's, mounts the pulpit, and thunders forth to the congregation. He announces to them, in words of indignation, that in so profligate a town, in one so torn by party factions, he will not administer the Lord's Supper to the population. The crowd rise indignant. Some draw their swords and threaten him, but the preacher repeats that he will not so desecrate the supper of the Lord; "that they will drink down the wrath of God rather than the sacrament of salvation."

The man is Calvin, as he appears on Easter Sunday, April 21, 1538, pronouncing thus an excommunication of the city. The morning following, the citizens assemble at the earliest possible hour, and amid the greatest excitement pronounce sentence of banishment against Calvin and two of his brother witnesses for the truth, Farel and Corrault. "It is well," the three answer, "for it is good to obey God rather than men." And Calvin adds, "If I had been rendering my service to man, this would be a sorry recompense; but I have served a Master who gives to his servants wages even above their deserts." The exiles made haste to Berne. After a fruitless endeavor at return, Farel went to Neuchâtel, while Calvin, after toiling through one stormy night in a thunder-storm, when he was well-nigh swept away by the swollen mountain torrents, found his way to his old residence in Strassburg. The third, Corrault, died soon after his exile, or was murdered.

This incident portrays the character with which we are now to become acquainted. Burning zeal for the honor of his Master, championship, living or dying, of gospel truth, firm, believing loyalty to Christ's sacrament,—these are the traits which we shall meet once and again in Calvin's life. The occurrence just described became the occasion of the establishment of the reformed church discipline, afterwards so well known. Christ had given his disciples the power of the keys. The church was to be possessed of spiritual authority. Following Calvin to Strassburg, we find him bearing the indignity put upon him with deep humility. "They could not curse," said he, "except God permitted them; therefore we will wait the Lord's time, for quickly fades 'the crown of pride to the drunkards of Ephraim.'"

Once in the mouths of the crowd, there were nicknames, heard very often, applied to Luther and Calvin: "Luther,—dickkopf; Calvin,—spitzkopf;" "Luther,—thick head; Calvin,—long head." It is certain that in the vulgar wit of the crowd there is often found a good deal of shrewd judgment. The common folk would indicate the key-note of each of the two characters: the invincible stubbornness of Luther, and the mental keenness of Calvin, which at times carried him almost beyond limits. To these peculiarities both men joined the most profound intellects. The

former, endowed with the utmost intrepidity, and even daring, swayed the minds of others in such measure that, to use his own words, he was "well known in heaven, in earth, and in hell." The latter, by his intellectual power, with lofty, aspiring spirit and true sublimity of soul, turned his clear gaze towards God's countenance and the faces of his holy angels, of whom he so often makes mention, as if he could with his bodily eyes almost see the Invisible. From Calvin a new civilization proceeded in the west and south. Yet it is only by better natures that he is understood. By weak, inferior minds and antichristian hearts he has always been misunderstood and hated; yes, and even cursed by them, as Luther also is cursed. The world by its question, "Are you Lutheran or Calvinist?" shows how important a place is held by both one leader and the other. We shall find Calvin's life like Luther's, in that it is a marvelous mingling of outer adventures and perils and of inner thoughts such as were designed to lead the world. Even to-day John Calvin is to France a stumbling-stone, a spirit turning men to life or to death, a rock of offense to some, a guide to many others in the way of salvation. Nor shall any other deliverer be sent this nation, till they learn to say, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

We return to the story of his early years, to his great reforming work and his final triumph. John Calvin was born July 10, 1509, Calvin's earlier history. when Luther was a little more than twenty-six years old. His birthplace was Noyon, a little city of Picardy. His mother was a Fleming. By her he was cared for through childhood with devoted love. By his father, who was a man of note, an attorney and public official, the boy's earnest spirit was early observed. Calvin says, "When I was yet a little boy, my father destined me to theology, and even as David was taken from the sheep-folds to a high position, so have I, by the hand of God, from a small beginning, been exalted to this high office, and become a herald of the gospel." By receiving the tonsure at an early age, he was introduced into the clerical order. There is no account of his receiving any ordination in the course of his life. When eleven years old he was given a small benefice. We next find him at a preparatory school in Paris, and soon after at the Paris University, where he becomes first doctor of law, then of theology. About this time, as he tells us, his inward convictions underwent a sudden, powerful change. He at once began to teach nothing save the gospel. "Although in my fear I fled the world, there gathered thirsting souls about me, the inexperienced recruit, so that each obscure corner was turned into a public school." He soon spoke out openly in Paris, to the joy of the friends of the gospel. Persecution followed. He had himself given an occasion for it by his fearless speech. He effected his escape with difficulty through a window, it is said, from which he was let down in a basket. In the year 1535, fresh danger came through the zeal of the Protestants. Six evaⁿgelical

Christians were put to death in Paris by fire. Calvin took refuge with a friend. In his retreat he began writing his great work on the doctrines of the reformed church, and also labored in spreading the pure gospel through the provinces. We find him next at Nerac, in South France, with the queen of Navarre; afterwards, in his native place, at which time he resigns his claim to his parish. Returning south, he lives concealed in the city of Poitiers and its vicinity. He establishes a reformed congregation there in secret, celebrates the Lord's Supper with it, after the reformed manner, and sends out disciples far and wide. There, in a lonely region, a cave is still pointed out to which Calvin used to retire along with his followers. It bears even now the name of "Calvin's Grotto."

But on every side in France perils arose, and flaming fagots. Calvin publishes his took his way in haste to Basel. Here he published his theology. splendid work upon the Christian faith, as a defense of the persecuted.¹ Soon after this he traveled, in the company of a friend, into Italy, to the court of Renée, the renowned duchess of Ferrara, who from the time of her meeting him never ceased to honor him as her pastor, and to render him the most profound esteem and affection. Persecuted in Italy, he went in haste to his native town, and with a few friends from there to Strassburg. A war then raging compelled him to take a roundabout way through the city of Geneva. "God was leading him," says his friend Beza, for in Geneva dwelt the brave Farel, who had proven the reformer of French Switzerland, but who when left alone amid the raging tempest was hardly equal to the conflict. He found out Calvin, who, in distrust of his own powers, wished to flee to a solitude. He adjured him, with a holy zeal, to lend his help. When his entreaties proved unavailing, Farel raised his great voice, and said: "Then I tell thee, in the name of the Almighty, that the curse of God will rest upon thee; for thou seekest thine own honor, not the honor of Christ." It was the thunder of the voice which was heard on the road to Damascus. The lightning smote Calvin's heart. He could not "kick against the pricks." He became preacher and teacher in Geneva. His whole life through he saw Farel's uplifted hand, and heard the distant thunder of the judgment, "as though," to use his own words, "God had laid hold upon me from heaven with his terrible arm." Now he set to work to reform the people, and after the space of two years comes that remarkable scene at the Easter festival, when he excommunicates the entire population of Geneva, and receives in turn his sentence of banishment.

We join him in the old city of Strassburg, where he is found in the company of Bucer and other upright persons. He devotes himself to quiet study, till against his will he is drawn into the wide field of the public life of his age, and into the German Reichstag. He meets Me-

¹ The *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, which in its final edition (1559) is regarded as the most solid production bearing upon reformed doctrines.

lancthon. The two men feel that they are kindred spirits. They agree respecting the question of the Lord's Supper, as regards everything essential. They remain forever bound together in esteem and love. It is difficult to portray the conflict which soon was excited in the soul of Calvin, when the city of Geneva, moved to deep repentance, boisterously called him back, as their pastor ordained of God. He remembered with pain his trials of conscience among them. At last he was obliged to yield to the authority of Farel, who once more adjured him. Calvin offers "his bleeding heart as a sacrifice to the Lord." Now begin the years of real reformation. Returning to the penitent city, Second entrance into Geneva. he does so under one conviction; he must see realized the great thought of his life; the church's authority in spiritual matters must be accepted. He draws up a constitution for the church and the state, and with great energy secures its adoption. Many persons, among them the noted Valentine Andrea, who was in Geneva in 1610, felt such a profound admiration for this theocratic-ecclesiastical constitution that they had a great longing to come and live in Geneva. It was an attempt to replace the Roman hierarchy by a voluntary Christian organization on the pattern of the primitive church. It was introduced into more than one land—at least in many of its features—by the establishment of a church government by means of synods.

When in Strassburg Calvin had entered on home life, marrying Idelette de Büres. She was the widow of one whom Calvin had recovered from the anabaptist belief, and a highly cultivated woman. "One of the elect," she is called by a friend of Calvin, who was acquainted with her. For nine years their happy married life continued. They had one child, a boy. They lived in a very modest and even poor style. Calvin preferred an unpretending, humble mode of living. But they had a great deal of home comfort and happiness. Around Calvin gathered a circle of worthy friends. Such friendship as united Farel, Viret, and Beza to Calvin is seldom to be found. It was not in Luther's experience, who at the last came near falling out with Melancthon himself.

Soon Calvin is plunged into his long, severe conflict with the mad-brained vociferators for freedom who were around him, as well as with the old citizens of Geneva, who wanted political freedom, but not Christian freedom. The greater grew the danger; the bolder waxed the courage of the man who was so timid by nature. He stood like one of the ancient prophets and called down the vengeance of Heaven upon those who insulted God by their crimes. Yet, like Paul, Triumphs over the libertines. with his great zeal he united apostolic love. At length the whole city was mastered by his mighty mind. The enemy who desired his fall were sent outside the walls. The persecutions raging sent to Geneva some of the best people of France and Italy. They took up their abode under Calvin's protection, and constituted his church, his power,

and his stay in the time of need. In those days, when, by the rising perils far and near, the church was threatened with destruction, and Calvin with death, when at times everything seemed lost, such words as these were heard from his lips: "It is not worth your while that ye trouble yourselves concerning me. There were far greater trials experienced by Moses and the prophets, who were leaders of God's people." Again, he says, "Trusting in the purity of my motives, I fear no assault, for what can they do to me more than to take my life!" And, "I am ready to endure death in any of its forms, if it is but in defense of the truth."

After the death of Luther, Calvin exerted great sway over the men of that notable period. He was especially influential in France, Italy, Germany, Holland, England, and Scotland. He bore the church in each of these lands upon his heart, and daily made it his care. Many martyrs, upon his word, mounted the scaffold, and not long was it till in France — what a joy to the heart of Calvin! — two thousand one hundred and fifty reformed congregations were organized, receiving from him their preachers. The foremost families and the noblest came out on his side; and in 1559 deputies from all parts of the country met in Paris, quietly and unobtrusively, to draw up their excellent confession of faith, the foundation of the French reformed church. Five years later this confession was presented, in solemn assembly, to the king and the regent Catherine. The reformed were thus recognized by the state. What if Francis of Guise massacred the Protestants at Vassy, as they celebrated the Lord's Supper under the roof of a barn! What if he raised a cruel war against them! Liberty of creed was won. Churches flourished, in spite of the rage of the foe. Rome became really afraid that all France would become Calvinist.

Calvin, triumphant over all his enemies, felt his death drawing near.

Faithful to the end. His ardent spirit had well-nigh consumed his bodily powers. Yet he continued to exert himself in every way with youthful energy. He did not lose an hour. He impressed his powerful moral character and imposing earnestness of soul on his church and his city. Geneva was to be for centuries the nursery of a pure, noble civilization. When about to lie down in rest, he drew up his unpretending will, saying in it, among other things, with a feeling of his great unworthiness: "I do testify that I live and purpose to die in this faith which God has given me through his gospel, and that I have no other dependence for salvation than the free choice which is made of me by Him. With my whole heart I embrace his mercy, through which all my sins are covered, for Christ's sake, and for the sake of his death and sufferings. According to the measure of grace granted unto me, I have taught his pure, simple Word, by sermons, by deeds, and by expositions of the Scripture. In all my battles with the enemies of the truth I have not used sophistry, but have fought the good fight squarely and directly. But alas, my good will and my zeal, if I may so name it, have been so lukewarm and

cold that I have fallen immeasurably below the mark in fulfilling my office." Calvin left property to the amount of but two hundred and twenty-five dollars, including his books. Choosing and loving a lowly way of living, he refused, during his illness, to accept twenty-five dollars, half the amount of salary due him, saying, as he sent it back to the council, that as he could not render any service, his conscience forbade him to receive any pay. Shortly before his death, he addressed to the coun-cilors of Geneva and to his brother ministers hearty exhortations, which have come down to us. In his last moments of dreadful pain, he was heard often praying, "Lord, Thou bruisest me, but it is enough for me to know that it is Thou! Who will give me the wings of a dove, that I may fly to Thee!" May 27, 1564, was the day of his release and blessed journey home. He was in his fifty-fifth year.

Many an adherent and friend of Calvin, coming from afar, has gone to the city cemetery seeking his monument. But the place of his rest is not known. This man would have nothing of the world, not even a stone inscribed with his name. He would have no ostentation at his grave, to remind any of old superstitions. As none in Israel knew where Moses was buried upon the mount, so no one knows where the bones of Calvin repose. The dust of succeeding generations in Geneva has mingled with his dust, even as their spirits have been joined closely with his mighty spirit.

We will here venture a glance at Calvin's peculiar way of apprehending the truth. The decisive rule of knowledge he found in the Holy Scriptures. Justification through Christ he made his central doctrine. But Calvin was not content to look through the Calvin on God's decrees. glass darkly. He wished to go behind it by the help of illumining thought, and with a sublime courage, born of faith, wished every disciple of his to do the same. A child beholds the sky, and thinks no more about it. Calvin looks at the spiritual firmament like an astronomer. In his thoughts he gazes upon God's countenance, and upon his decrees. This all men dare not do. They fear to penetrate the unfathomable abyss. Calvin, void of fear and bold, is borne thither upon the wings of his living faith. He knows that he is one of the elect of God. His predominant thought, that God only is powerful, that before Him man is nothing, a vessel of God's wrath or of God's grace, as God pleases, led him, however, to constant prayer to the living God,—greatly in contrast with the habits of modern thinkers, to whom God is but a law, to whom self is God. Starting from this great thought, Calvin shows that our Maker, with foreknowledge of salvation and destruction, determined beforehand that both should be, that there should be saved souls and lost souls, and decreed their safety or their ruin. Here we find an abyss of the world spiritual, for none know how sin, with its results, is a thing possible to the Holy One, who has decreed our existence as it is. Zwingle had

taught the same truth as did Calvin. Luther had also unfolded it to Erasmus, when the latter declared that man could deliver himself by good works. They did not explain the mystery. Its solution lies in the secret counsels of the Most High. Calvin dwells upon this mysterious truth, which lies behind that grace of God which overwhelms him. We here cry, "Oh, the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!" But Calvin felt God's Spirit moving him to blazon triumphantly the great thought of God's sovereignty and the utter dependence of man, in order to dash in pieces the self-righteous hypocrisy of Romanism to its very foundations, just as Augustine, in his day, smote Pelagian self-righteousness. Eternal judgment resounds in his words with thunder tones, alarming mortals. This same strong grasping of great foundation truths has given to Calvin's theology its peculiar coloring, to Calvin's soul its lowly piety, and to the world a new impulse. If the reproach met him that he did away with free will, he answered with renewed force, "Commune with your own heart, it will condemn your slothfulness; your conscience will bear witness to your moral freedom." The church of Calvin abounded in active benevolence. Many Christian souls may not be able to follow Calvin in this flight of his thought, yet
calvin on the sacrament. these same souls will render their thanks to God that Calvin taught the deeper meaning of the Lord's Supper; that he preserved the sacrament from becoming a mere memorial act, after the conception of Zwingle.

Here we approach Calvin's relation to Luther. Luther, in indignation, had parted from the Swiss at Marburg. He declared "that he would have nothing more to do with the blasphemers of the sacrament, neither would he pray for the devourers and murderers of souls." His stern inflexibility was inherited by his successors, but without his loving spirit, and led to fatal dissension. Then Calvin arose by the spirit of the Lord to bless the Christian community. He denied transubstantiation and the local material existence of Christ in the sacrament, but acknowledged a real spiritual presence. Christ is in the supper essentially, not simply there by our faith, but he who has faith receives the flesh and blood of the Lord, his glorified body. This doctrine, so full of meaning, Calvin led the Swiss to accept (1549). The entire Reformed church afterwards adopted it. Many not of that communion have been impressed by its importance. Had Luther lived longer, he and Calvin would most likely have agreed, for the Reformed embrace the Lutheran view, in its popular sense, and the Lutherans are Calvinistic without being aware of it. Luther esteemed Calvin, and once sent him a greeting, saying that "he had read his smaller work [in which Calvin put forth his views on the sacrament] with great delight."

The following story is also told of Luther. A year before his death,

when he was coming from his lecture, his students around him, he stopped before the shop of Hans Luft, the bookseller, and hailed his assistant, who had just returned from Frankfort, saying, "Maurice, what is the good word from Frankfort? Will they burn the arch-heretic Luther all up?" "Most reverend sir, I did not hear anything about that," said the other; "but I have brought with me a little volume which John Calvin wrote some time ago, in French, upon the Lord's Supper, and which has just been published in Latin. They are saying of Calvin that, though quite young, he is a devout and scholarly person. In this little book this Calvin is said to show where your reverence and Zwingle and *Œcolampadius* have gone too far in the strife." He had hardly finished when Dr. Luther cried, "Give me the book." He sat down, looked it through, and said, as he finished, "Maurice, he is most certainly a learned and pious person. I might from the very first have well left to him this whole controversy; I confess, for my part, that had the other side done the same, we would have been on good terms from the start. If *Œcolampadius* and Zwingle had expressed themselves in this way at the first, we would never have been betrayed into such prolonged controversies."

The name given Luther by Calvin was "Venerable Father." Calvin once said, to quiet the Swiss, "Even if he were to call me a devil, I would yet reverently own him as a distinguished servant of God, to whom we owe many thanks. We confess freely that we hold Luther as a grand apostle of Jesus Christ." Once Calvin exalts Luther even above the Apostles, saying, "If we carefully study the times in which Luther arose, we shall see that he had to contend with almost every difficulty which beset the Apostles. In one respect his position was worse than theirs, for the Apostles, in their days, did not have to declare war against any empire, but Luther could not advance a step save by the fall and destruction of the empire of the popes."

The vigor and success of Calvin's conflict with the papacy are best known to the papists themselves. They were perceived with joy by ^{Calvin and} Luther. Once, when Cruciger had been reading to him one ^{popery.} of the works of Calvin, Luther said, "This book is blessed with hands and feet. I rejoice that God raises up such men. If God please, they will give the papacy mighty thrusts. What I have begun against anti-christ will, by the help of Calvin, be carried to completion." The book spoken of was Calvin's work against Sadolet, when the latter was attempting to gain Geneva over to the party of the pope. In it Calvin speaks of church unity. He justifies his separation from Rome. The church to Calvin as to Luther is the community of the saints and of the elect. Its unity is maintained by the Holy Spirit, the Scriptures, confessions of faith, and catechisms. Calvin desired that what was attained through faith might be confirmed through church order. In this he was more decided than Luther, who did not uphold church discipline in equal meas-

ure. That the zeal of Calvin, after the manner of his generation, and after the example of Luther's followers, went sometimes to excess is not to be denied. Calvin, in his enthusiasm, wished to carry out a glorious conception of a theocracy, a God-inspired rule, state and church united, yet separate in their powers: the church to possess no material power, but only spiritual power, extending to excommunication; the state to be without power in the domain of religion. Such a government of the church was realized in Geneva in part; in France more fully. In Calvin's scheme of a constitution for the state, open blasphemers and slanderers of what was sacred might be punished even to death. The same view was held by all his contemporaries, whether Romanist or Lutheran. It was in accord with the spirit of an age of violence. When papists come forward in our day, after their party has murdered thousands of evangelical Christians, and maintain with absurd warmth that Calvin was intolerant, they sit in judgment upon themselves; they condemn themselves with redoubled condemnation.

The execution of Servetus, so often made a stigma upon our noble re-
Calvin and Ser- former, shows chiefly that Calvin stood above his contem-
vetus. poraries. He had done everything, trying to rescue that

restless company of spirits who would destroy the Reformation. Let us approach this era of Calvin's life. We stand before the council with him and Servetus, he seeking to expose error. For as Servetus exclaims, "Everything is God!" Calvin replies, "What! do you mean to say that the floor on which we tread is God? And what if I ask if Satan is also really God?" Servetus rejoins with a mocking laugh, "Well, do you not believe that?" Servetus addressed the triune God with horrible names of blasphemy, calling Him a hell-hound. Nor to the last did he cease to revile what was holy. Calvin continued in his patient endeavor to refute and admonish him. While Calvin was of the opinion that the council acted rightly, yet it is certain that he did not influence their procedure in sentencing Servetus. He challenged Servetus to come forward openly and establish his assertions. He also entreated the council not to put Servetus to death by fire. Yet it was Calvin upon whom Servetus had vented his fury. The gentle Melancthon, on the other hand, loudly said that the council's way of sentencing the blasphemer was correct. Calvin afterwards evidently was in doubt about the whole affair, in which he years before had taken part, following the sentiment of his age. His judgment grew lenient beyond what was usual among even cultivated minds in that century. The spirit of toleration, the natural result of gospel principles, and liberty of conscience rose in the reformed church sooner than in any other.

On the 27th of October, 1853, Servetus had been dead three hundred years. The people of Geneva went up to Chappel, the hill-side where the ashes of Servetus had been strewn, and observed the day before

the Lord, honoring Christian toleration and liberty of conscience, and begging forgiveness, in the name of the old council, respecting Servetus, even though he was guilty of transgression. But to Calvin, who has been censured unjustly, and made to bear the burden of others' errors, was decreed a statue before the cathedral of St. Peter's.¹ For from Calvin proceeded a free, sublime, and sanctified Christian culture, which will work beneficially upon mankind as long as the stupendous Alps stand in all their splendor.

Yes, the influence of Calvin upon the world is enduringly great. He never dreamed of its becoming so mighty. His mission was as needful to the church as that of Luther. One created the Reformation, the other completed it. This was Calvin's grand mission: to give order to the church, to guide the awakened energies of mankind, especially in Western Europe. Renowned universities rose in the reformed church, exerting a great control over French civilization. Without doubt, through the Puritan movement in England, Calvinistic teachings helped lay the foundations of the United States of America, thus preparing the civilization of a new era. And as Luther, by his translation of the Bible, has exercised on our German people and tongue a lasting influence, so Calvin has affected the nation of scholars by his splendid Bible commentaries. He has helped mould the French language, also, by his forcible, naive, logical style, the reflection of his own character.

The church of the future depends upon Calvin, upon a presbyterian constitution which Calvin revived, upon his use of discipline which is so lacking in the church now. She depends upon the destruction of papal notions effected by his writings, and above all upon his pure and child-like faith in the Bible, his enthusiastic loyalty to obligation, his eagle-like insight proclaiming certainly the triumph of the evangelical belief. The world now awaits new reformers. Perchance the eye of God to-day rests well pleased upon some child of his, distinguished by sweet apostolic gifts, who, toiling like a Luther or a Calvin, shall gather together the distressed and down-trodden churches, revive them as by the breath of God, and defend them against the encroaching power of falsehood. With the recollection of Wittenberg and Geneva in our hearts, let us approach in prayer the Lord of the church, with such triumphant faith as once possessed Luther by the bedside of Melanchthon, believing that "He must hear us, and deliver us from our trouble, unless his holy gospel is a lie." And Calvin is calling to us, "The truth of God is immovable. Therefore, let us watch even to the end, till God's kingdom, which is now hidden from us, shall appear." "Fearless and without guile" was the motto of Calvin; and his coat of arms,—what was it? A hand offering a burning heart unto God! A lesson to all!—P. H.

¹ It was finally decided by Geneva, at Calvin's tercentenary, to erect instead of the statue a memorial hall. This has been built,—a spacious edifice, capable of holding two thousand persons.—H. M. M.

LIFE XII. ANTONY LABORIE; OR, THE FIVE MARTYRS OF CHAMBERY.

A. D. ?—A. D. 1555. CLERICAL AND LAICAL,—FRANCE AND FRENCH SWITZERLAND.

THERE were put to death in England, in 1555, the martyrs Hooper, Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer. In France,¹ that same year, there died at Chambery, five martyrs: John Vernon, a pupil of Calvin, and native of Poitiers; Antony Laborie, of Cajar, in Quercy, who had been a royal judge there, and afterwards a minister; John Trigolet, of Nismes, in Languedoc, a student of the law, and also of theology; and their two lay comrades and fellow-believers, Bertrand Bataille, of Gascony, a student of theology, and Guirald Taurant, of Cahors, in Quercy, a merchant, who journeyed with the rest at their wish, having intended to go with them only to the French frontier. These five were sent by the evangelical church of Geneva into France to preach the gospel. Fully warned that they were in danger of persecution and of death, they took their way, trusting in God, singing psalms as they journeyed along.

A spy, one who held some petty office in France, had observed their departure from Geneva. He waylaid the company, taking them on the Col-de-Tamis, in Fossigny, in Savoy, and bringing them in chains to Chambery. They were, as was reported by Vernon to the ^{The five are ar-} church in Geneva, brought before an ecclesiastical court, whose head inquisitor was bishop Furbity, who had been notorious in the history of the Geneva Reformation. They asked, in order to prepare their defense, for their Bibles and the Institutes of Calvin, which had been taken from them and placed upon the table. They were refused their request. This was July 10, 1555. Their release was demanded by the government of Berne, but to no purpose. They were examined a second time, July 14th. The court of heresy included as members Dominicans and Franciscans. The sacraments and the mass, the authority of the pope, and the like, were the subjects considered. On July 17th, the five were condemned as heretics. The inquisitor had in vain tried to make Bataille and Taurant abjure, putting them in a separate prison. When they proved steadfast, they were put with the other prisoners, who all mutually instructed and exhorted one another, relieving their distress by the singing of psalms.

We have had preserved to us precious letters written by them during their imprisonment, which endured several months. We will make ex-

¹ Henry Second, son of Francis First, had succeeded the latter as French king. His wife was the Italian Catherine de' Medici. The king, after his edict of Chateaubriant (1551), had committed the trial of heretics — till now a separate matter — to a court of justice, with power to put to death. At a later day, the king made Mathias Ori chief inquisitor.

tracts. Laborie wrote, September 4, 1555, to the ministers of Geneva: "I have said to my judges all that God gave me to say, establishing all by Scripture. I owe thanks to God for his aid. As we faced one another, I saw tears in the eyes of one of the younger counselors. I and the rest said to the inquisitor, 'We are amazed that ye consider marriage a sacrament, and yet not pure for yourselves, preferring to live in unchastity.' Taurant, who came to know the truth only three months since, and whom they sought to persuade to abjure, exposed to them their unevangelical position, even beyond the rest of us. The 'parliament' sentenced us August 21st: Vernon, Laborie, and Trigolet, to the galleys for life; Bataille and Taurant for ten years. The king's procurator appealed from this sentence.

"When again brought before the council, I was desired to lay my hand on a cross, painted in green color upon a board, and take an oath. I refused, saying that I would look up to heaven and swear by the living God. To this they agreed. New heresies were then charged. I made a defense. They threatened me with the royal edict against heretics. I replied: 'The judge in heaven will one day decide, opening his record and book. Our cause will then be found just; yours will be condemned.' We hear that we are all five condemned to be burned, and are expecting every day to hear our sentence. Their excellencies [of Berne and of Geneva] have interested themselves on our account. The whole church has grieved for us. We enjoy the fruits of their prayers. I can say, in truth, that I have never been better in body or soul in my life than here in prison, for all things must work together for the best to those who love God."

Laborie wrote also several letters to his young wife, Anna. We will quote from these: "I thank the good God that He has comforted me inwardly by thy letter, and by letters which have spoken of thee, praising thy steadfastness which God has vouchsafed thee. I pray thee that thou would recognize this as an especial gift of God, coming entirely from Him; and that thou wouldest humble thyself the more in obedience to Him, that He may increase thy graces and thy gifts. For truly, if my death bring no other result (I hope to God that it will not be fruitless) than that thou by the same be, as I hear, even more awakened to know God, this were enough to cause me to suffer death with joy. I pray God that He fulfill his blessed work in thee, and draw thee more and more to Himself, through the power of the Holy Ghost. We are now awaiting the hour when we shall be led forth to death. We see no other issue before us, whatever man may do on our behalf. Therefore, I pray thee, call on God without ceasing, that He may grant us invincible steadfastness, that we may perfect the work which He has begun in us. Truly, in all my life I have longed for nothing with greater desire than to die for Christ and his truth. I am certain that my

Laborie's letters to his wife.

brothers will say the same. Remember thy life long that thou hadst as husband a man truly received and numbered among God's children. Beware that Christ's word be not spoken of thee: 'There shall be two in one bed; the one shall be taken, the other left.' Let thy highest concern be to know God in thy heart, and to love and obey his holy will all thy life long. Exercise thyself to fear and know Him, to acknowledge thankfully the gifts of his grace, so that thou mayest continue his daughter, even as I have ever seen certain tokens in thee of thine adoption by God. Then we may see one another again, and eternally extol and praise God in that celestial glory to which God's Son, Jesus Christ, has called us. Thou art yet young; be comforted in God. Let the Lord Christ be thy father and thy bridegroom, till He give thee another husband. I am sure that He will not forsake thee, but will take care of thine affairs beyond thy expectations. Therefore, rest in Him continually. Fear and love Him in word and in deed. Attend diligently on the preaching of God's Word. Avoid evil company. Choose devout and God-fearing people. Act not alone according to thy liking and judgment, but ever seek advice from good people who have been our friends, especially Monsieur John Calvin, who will lead thee to nothing wrong, if thou followest him, even as thou dost, and as I adjure thee to do. For thou knowest that this man is truly directed by the Spirit of God. He cannot, therefore, advise thee to evil. If thou wilt marry again, to which I counsel thee, then seek especially the advice of Calvin, and do not act without his knowledge and consent. Choose thee a God-fearing husband; otherwise refuse to marry again. I trust God will care for thee as will be good for thee, according to his will. Call upon Him before all others, and commit thyself to his goodness. I have unceasingly prayed to Him for thee, and I do pray for thee ever. Thou knowest how deeply we loved one another, as long as the good God gave us to one another. The peace of God has ever been with us; thou hast been submissive to me in all things. I pray thee that thou prove an equal, or even a greater, treasure to him whom the Lord will give thee. Thus God and his grace will ever dwell with thee and thy children. Remember ever the elements of religion which I have taught thee (alas, I was not diligent enough in my office!); build on the same foundations, that thou mayest draw nearer and nearer unto God. Possibly, thy father, hearing of my death, will hasten to thee, and try to lead thee back to popery. I pray thee, for God's sake, and for the sake of thy salvation, not to obey thy father in this, but to refuse him, choosing to dwell in God's home rather than to return to Satan's dwelling. I would rather that thou wert swallowed up by the deepest chasm, that thou wert now dead, than that thou shouldst again be a papist. But I am sure that thou wouldest rather die than obey thy father in this. Death would be better and more wholesome. Pray God, therefore, to strengthen thee through his Holy Spirit.

Possibly, my parents will think of taking away our little daughter. I pray thee, and in God's name command thee, that this sin and crime be not executed, let there come to thee anything that God may will! For I call God to witness that I will demand the blood of this our little daughter at thy hand. If through thy guilt and neglect harm come to her soul, her blood will descend and be poured upon thy head. I pray thee, then, by the duty thou owest God, by thy duty as a mother, by thy love in which thou art joined to me, thy husband and thy little daughter's father, that thou take this, my last request, to thy heart, and cause our little daughter, as soon as she is capable of instruction, to be brought up in the fear of God. I would have liked to write to thy father and to my own parents, but I have no more paper and ink, nor can I obtain any just now. Write, then, to them what has befallen me, through God's grace; comfort them, and bring to their mind the great grace and kindness which God has shown me in my imprisonment. God grant that they be softened and moved to know and honor Him aright by my death, more than they have ever been affected by my warnings during my life. God be merciful unto them."

Another letter of Laborie to his wife says: "When we were still together, thou hadst not as many good friends as God has raised up for thee since I was imprisoned. They will care for thee better than I could have done, as I am assured by many letters. This is our dear God's doing. Instead of thy husband He gives thee many faithful fathers and brothers in the Lord. Thou shouldst be thankful, and learn from this how much better it is to endure opposition, adversity, and poverty than always to have rest and good days in abundance. Faith is proven in the furnace of affliction. I do not doubt thou hast persecution more than I. In this count thyself happy; trust God, reposing thy heart and thy hope on Him alone. Thou knowest that, when I was in my native land, moving with great lords who gave me their favor and friendship, I was far from God. Even in Geneva, as long as we had an abundance, thou knowest how we soon grew cold and careless, and how seldom and how sluggishly we thought upon God and his goodness. But when, later, things went less according to our wishes and our wills, how we then began to seek refuge in God, to pray with earnestness and zeal, to read the Holy Scripture, and to comfort each the other! Learn, then, to have greater delight in poverty than in riches, idleness, and luxury. Be content with the goods given us by Christ, who wills that we find our good things in the cross, and take up our cross in patience and follow Him." Another of his letters says: "Dear sister Anna,— I have received thy letter of September 15th, and the pieces of clothing which thou didst send me. It is sweet to me that thou didst think of me in this trial. In the kindnesses which God hath shown thee, I behold the fruit of my prayer. Indeed, my death comes hard upon thee; thou grievest thyself sadly over

it. I was able to expect that, knowing thy tenderness. But I admonish thee not to give way. I would familiarize thee with the thought of remembering me only as one dead, already consumed to ashes, to whom thou art no longer bound, except with such love as is due a brother. Thus pray for me as long as I dwell in this poor body upon the earth. Comfort thyself with Ruth, the Moabitess. Thinkest thou that God will allow thee to suffer bodily need? Never! He will care for thee, and for thy little daughter as well. Thou and my little girl will be better off after my death than now. And now I have commended thee, with thy daughter, to a faithful God, who will protect thee more carefully and lovingly than ever could have been done by me."

John Vernon's letters, written in prison, deserve also to be known.

Vernon's letters. He says: "He who has to do with the Righteous One may dismiss anxiety, especially when sure of God's love. We have to do with One who spared not his Son, but gave Him up for us all! How shall He not give us all things? Let us put our confidence in the living God, who is more willing to give than are we to receive! Many faithful disciples shall, on the last day, rise up in judgment against false disciples, who picture to themselves a kind of silk or satin Christ of their own invention, and who seek a Christianity without any cross or any hardship." Vernon wrote to his sister: "By the cross we become like our Lord Jesus, not only in that we suffer and die, as did He, but in that we grow holy, as was He, and thus through the cross and through holiness we enter eternal joy and glory."

Trigolet wrote to his brother-in-law: "The good God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose prisoners we are, will afford us grace that we may exalt his name and edify his church, whether we are sent out of this miserable world by water or by fire."

Taurant wrote a friend, in a letter of farewell: "I receive pain and torture as the means by which God will draw me to Him. If He draw me through fire, I take comfort from the three youths who were saved in the fiery furnace in Babylon. I know that the power of God is as great do-day. If He call me through the water, I take comfort from the children of Israel, who went unhurt through the Red Sea. Whatever He pleases to do to me, I am therewith content."

Calvin writes to the prisoners. The brethren wrote to Calvin. Three of Calvin's letters in reply, such as he sent in those days by trusty messengers to prisons everywhere to the sufferers under persecution, have been preserved till now. In two letters of September 5th, he writes: "Laborie and Trigolet may be consoled as to their near relatives, for they have submitted themselves to God's will." He adds: "Above all, repose in God's fatherly care, and doubt not that He watches over your bodies and souls. How dear is the blood of believers to Him He will prove after that He has made you his witnesses." In an appeal made by

the five to their king, which had been sent to Calvin for revision, the latter would have changed some expressions. "But," he adds, "I would rather it should remain as God has suggested to you. If the world does not receive such a just and holy appeal as it ought, yet it will be approved by God, by his angels, by the prophets and the whole church. All the faithful who read it will thank God for what He has done for you through the Holy Spirit." October 5th, Calvin and others wrote: "It is one of Satan's best artifices to weary by long effort persons whom he could not strike down at his first assault. But God will make you steadfast, even unto the end."

Upon the day appointed for their execution, a gentleman who had done much on their behalf found means to enter their prison, to report the decision of the "parliament," to comfort them, and to admonish them to constancy. They at once lifted up their voices and thanked God for the grace shown them. Vernon was in such fear at the first announcement of death that he trembled in every limb, saying: "I feel that there is a harder battle to be fought in me than often falls to man; yet the Spirit will subdue the cursed flesh, and I am sure that the good God will not forsake me. I beseech you, brothers, be not anxious about me. I will not fail, for God has promised that He will not leave us in our trial. This fear of death must show us how weak we are, that all the honor may be to Him."

When they at last stood upon the scaffold, Vernon obtained what he had promised himself, from God, a blessed steadfastness and ^{Their glorious} _{deaths.} a strength worthy of a Christian. He was first laid hold of by the executioners. Before he was tied to the stake, he prayed, "Lord, I acknowledge myself a poor sinner before Thee," and added to his prayers his confession of faith, commanding himself to the Lord, rejoicing that he had overcome the pains of death and every foe.

Antony Laborie felt no fear of death at all. He went as to a festival, joyously and bravely. Before death he was asked by the executioner to grant him forgiveness. Laborie replied, "My friend, thou injurest me not. By thy deed I am delivered from a sore imprisonment." With these words he kissed the executioner. Several of the by-standers, moved at the sight, began weeping. Laborie took up Vernon's prayer and went through it, then repeated his creed in a loud voice, and gave up the spirit with amazing courage. John Trigolet met his death serenely, and even joyously, praying for his enemies: "There are some among them who know not what they do. There are others who know well, but because bewitched by Satan and drunk with prosperity, they will not confess their real belief. But, my God, I beseech Thee, loose their fetters." He added, "I behold Thee, even now, high on thy throne, and heaven open, even as Thou didst show it to thy servant Stephen." Saying this, he died.

Bataille said with loud voice to the people that they were not there to

be executed as thieves and murderers, but as supporters of the cause of God. Praying, he was put to death. The last, Taurant, repeated parts of psalms, in clear accents. Though but a youth, he showed equal steadfastness with the others, and praying with fervor and strong will gave up his spirit.—A. E. F.

LIFE XIII. THEODORE BEZA.

A. D. 1519—A. D. 1605. CLERICAL LEADER,—FRANCE AND FRENCH SWITZERLAND.

As by the heroic Luther stands a revered Melancthon, by Zwingle an *Œ*colampadius and a Bullinger, so beside John Calvin, in Geneva, is his pupil and friend, his brother, comrade, and loyal supporter, Theodore Beza. He comes, not like Luther or Zwingle, from the cottage of the peasant or mountaineer, nor like Melancthon or *Œ*colampadius, from the armorer's workshop or the tradesman's office, but from among those whom earth calls "high-born,"—albeit their names may be written no higher in heaven than those of men whom the Lord has raised out of the lowest dust. His father, Peter de Beza, a nobleman, dwelt as royal governor in Vézelay castle, in a wild, romantic spot of old Burgundy. His mother, Marie Bourdelot, was a pattern of piety, humility, and kindness to the poor and suffering. She aided them with love and active effort, and also with a knowledge which she had obtained of the science of medicine. Theodore, the seventh child of this pair blessed with many children, was born June 24, 1519. When he was hardly three years old, his father's brother, Nicholas de Beza, a parliamentary counselor, begged to take the boy, who was delicate, with him to Paris to be educated. The mother gave consent with a heavy heart. She went with her darling to his destination, and bade him farewell, never to see him again, for she died when thirty-one. The uncle proved both father and

As a boy in Paris. mother to the child. Nor did he escape the troubles which parents endure. Despite his care, Theodore caught a dangerous infection from a servant, and was obliged to undergo a severe surgical operation. The boy went every day with a cousin, also a patient, to his physician, who dwelt in the Louvre. He had to cross the Millers' Bridge (Pont aux Meuniers). His cousin, one day, was tempted, to escape his pains, to throw himself over the bridge into the Seine, and wanted Theodore to do the same. The two boys, unnoticed by their attendant, would have done the rash deed, had not their uncle been on the watch at the moment and prevented it. Theodore recovered, and at once his education was begun. His uncle learned from an Orleans friend who paid him a visit that there was a very worthy teacher in Orleans, a

German named Wolmar. He resolved to commit his nephew to him. Theodore was sent, in the company of his uncle's friend, to the latter's house, to go to school with his son. The respect often shown by the French to German solidity was, in Wolmar's case, justified. The Swabian was well informed and thorough.

Young Beza, reaching Orleans December 5, 1528, was heartily welcomed by his teacher. He used to call the day of his entrance into Wolmar's house his second birthday. Before long he went with Wolmar to a new place of abode. The latter had been called by Margaret of Angoulême (sister of Francis First), the duchess of Alençon and Berry, to teach the classics in her new college, in Bourges. Wolmar accepted the call, and Theodore followed him. Bourges was one of the cities where the gospel light was dawning, and sheltered many whom Paris would have burned on account of their belief. Young Beza could not but be touched by the light. Wolmar's house was the resort of gifted minds devoted to reform. One who came was Calvin, whom Wolmar decidedly influenced. Beza's pleasant relations soon ended. Bourges early became an unsafe residence for the reformed. Wolmar had to leave France (1535) and fly to Germany. Theodore would have liked to go with him, but his father, the old lord and governor of Vézelay, who held to the old religion, was glad to see his son's relation to Wolmar and other active spirits at an end. Theodore had to go back to Orleans, to pursue the study of the law, which he had chosen, and fit himself for practical life. A young man liberally trained found little attraction in the law as then taught. Beza took delight in the Latin poets, of whom he had tasted in the school of Wolmar,—in Ovid, Catullus, and Tibullus. He himself wrote poems addressed to his first love, Marie de l'Etoile, daughter of an Orleans professor of law. She died soon after this. Beza left Orleans for Paris. His uncle Nicholas, his old patron and supporter, was long since dead. A brother of Nicholas, Claudio, abbot of Froimont, received his nephew. Theodore's eldest brother was there, already in possession of a living, and he and Theodore dwelt together. The youth's talents were soon noticed. He moved with ease among the wits and scholars, winning favor by his poetry. His pleasure was that of the accomplished worldling. Long after, Beza regarded this period with regret. To escape the dangers of the frivolous female society around him, he resolved to marry. He betrothed a young girl of the burgher class, without property, declaring before two witnesses that he would acknowledge the union as soon as his circumstances permitted. Her name was Claude Desnoz. His relation to her excited his foes to utter slanders against him, which he answered with the noblest candor. He published at this period his youthful Latin poems (*Juvenilia*), on the model of Virgil and Ovid.¹

¹ The latter name suggests that many a thing slipped in which suited heathen views of life rather than Christian. Beza himself confessed afterwards that he looked back with

The gifted youth was soon to leave poetic trifling and begin hard work. He was taken into God's school by a severe illness.
Led to an earnest life. He says, "The Lord so visited me that I had doubts of my recovery. What could I, unhappy, do with only God's fearful judgment before me? What then? After infinite pain of my body and soul, the Lord pitied his fickle follower, comforting me so that I no more doubted his pardoning grace. Amid a thousand tears I abhorred myself, sought mercy, renewed my vows, openly acknowledged his true church and worship. In short, I gave myself to Him wholly and entirely. The image of death shown me in its reality waked in me the slumbering but never buried desire for a new life. My sickness was the beginning of my recovery and of my true health. Thus strangely does God work with his own, by the same blows striking down, wounding, and also healing them. As soon as I could leave my couch, I broke all the bonds which fettered me, packed up my few possessions, and left fatherland, parents, and friends, to follow the call of Christ."

Whither could Beza better go than to the city which yielded refuge to so many of those persecuted for the gospel's sake, — to Geneva, where Calvin was then in the noontide of his labor? Thither he went, taking with him his espoused wife. The first thing he did after Calvin had made him welcome was to celebrate his marriage in a public, formal manner. The next question was how to live. His project of setting up a printing-house, with the help of Crespin, another exile, was pronounced by Calvin injudicious. He then thought his best plan was to seek his friend Wolmar in Germany, and consult with him upon his future course. He went to Tübingen, where his former teacher received him with open arms. Wolmar advised him to return to Geneva, and wait till God opened a door. And Beza did not have to wait long. Before he reached Geneva he was asked by Lausanne to become professor of Greek in her academy.¹ He consented, and took the oath of office November 9, 1549, with thankful, hopeful heart. His conscientiousness was shown in his refusing to accept the place till any offense he might have given at an earlier date by his youthful poetry was removed. Only after the college had put him at rest on this, as a matter which was a part of his popish experience, and like that a thing of the past, could Beza feel satisfied.

shame at the misuse of his poetic gifts, of which he was guilty. Such frank acknowledgments (and Zwingle had made similar ones in his time) give us a more correct measure for judging our reformers morally than the exaggerations and calumnies of malicious opponents on the one hand, or the palliations of officious advocates upon the other. They are presented to us by history not as perfect saints, but as men saved by God's grace, and advancing in his service more and more towards holiness. For the rest, Beza's poems were written in a careless and loose rather than an impure, uncleanly way. How else could Wolmar — to whom he submitted and dedicated them — have advised their publication!

¹ Lausanne at that time, like all the canton Vaud, was under the rule of Berne. Her church relations were governed by the articles of the Berne conference of 1528. Every one taking office in her church or schools was required to take an oath of adherence to these articles.

He tried to atone for any harm which his poems might have done by using his poetic gift to the praise of God. Was there any way to do this so good as to give David's Psalms to the French church? Before him, Clement Marot of Cahors had begun this work, but he had translated but fifty Psalms, to which the celebrated Goudimel had adapted music. Beza completed the book, giving the whole Psalter to the church for use in public worship (1552). Dramatic poetry, so largely secularized, was used by Beza for sacred purposes. The old religious plays of the Middle Ages had degenerated. In their stead Biblical histories were introduced into the schools for elocutionary exercises. Beza arranged successfully the "Sacrifice of Abraham" as a school drama. It was presented in a public hall, and met with great applause. The joyous days of the drama were followed by trying days of affliction. The plague had been brought to Lausanne from Bündte (1551), and Beza was stricken by it. His life was in danger. Viret, the reformer of Lausanne, communicated his anxiety to Calvin in a letter. The prayers of all his friends united for the recovery of Beza, and were answered. He devoted himself anew to science and the church. It were a long task to follow his ten years in Lausanne in detail. The main facts will be sufficient. To his work as professor he added Bible lessons on Romans and the epistles of Peter, all in the French language, to instruct and build up the church. He maintained an extended correspondence with Bullinger, Calvin, and others. He followed the Reformation not with the eye of a mere spectator, but as a participant with pen and tongue. He was deeply moved by the fate of five students of Lausanne, his pupils, who died as martyrs in Lyons. He poured forth his lament in an elegy. He took part in the controversy on election, ad- Sides with Calvin ^{vin.} hhering to Calvin against his adversaries, especially against Bolsec. He did not hesitate in taking Calvin's side when an angry outcry was raised respecting the execution of Servetus (1553). Beza published a work maintaining the right of the magistrate to punish heresy by death.¹ Beza, like Calvin, considered religious error a crime against the commonwealth, and more culpable, as undermining the principles of Christianity, than murder, adultery, and theft. He did not reflect that religious convictions cannot be suppressed by force. He was not alone in his views, for the majority of his age thought as he did, and not the ignorant masses only, but the most intelligent statesmen and theologians. The Christian sentiment of later days has disseminated more correct views on this question.

Amid public disputes, Beza was called to endure conflict with those nearest him, — his father and eldest brother. The old lord, as has been

¹ *On the Punishment of Heretics by the Civil Power.* The book was aimed chiefly at S. Castellio, who along with L. Socinus and S. Curione had in a treatise censured the persecution of Servetus. Beza's book appeared in Basel under the assumed name of Martin Bellius, and was dedicated to duke Christopher of Würtemberg.

said, saw with displeasure the connection of his son with the reformed belief, and now how deeply was he imbued with it! Yet might it not be possible to draw him again to the bosom of the "only saving church"? It seemed worth while to make the trial. So, one day, his eldest brother, John de Beza, came to persuade Theodore to go back, but in vain. He confessed that his efforts availed nothing, while he was himself almost persuaded by Theodore to leave Rome and embrace the gospel. Then a severer trial visited the reformer, for his old father came. They met on the frontier between Switzerland and France, but without result. They parted with sad hearts, for no agreement was possible to men looking at religion from such opposite stand-points.

A welcome errand engaged Beza in 1556. With his friend Farel he visited the reformed Swiss cantons, to move them to decided steps in favor of the Waldensians, whom France was persecuting. An embassy was to go to Paris to influence the French court, which waged the persecution. The German states and princes were asked to join their efforts. The success of this excellent movement was hindered by the variance between the Swiss and the Germans on the Supper. This needed to be removed. Beza lent his aid to its removal. His work was misunderstood by both sides, and frustrated. He tried to move the German princes to help his brethren in France, who were again persecuted. For this end he made a journey as far as Marburg, but achieved little. An embassy was indeed sent to Paris, but returned without fulfilling its purpose, reporting that even during its presence in the city new victims were led to the stake.

Close on these trials came dissensions among the clergy of Vaud, one side holding strictly to the rules of Berne in matters of church government and discipline, the other maintaining the independence of the church according to the views of Calvin. Beza tried in vain to mediate. He then left Lausanne for Geneva (September, 1558). He came at the right moment, for the magistrates, at Calvin's suggestion, had set up a

Begins work in college. To this Beza was called, not only as lecturer and Geneva. expositor of the Scripture, but as president. He was now

ordained as a minister. The school opened June 5, 1559. Beza delivered his inaugural in St. Peter's, on the origin, dignity, necessity, and use of schools, Calvin solemnly introducing the exercises with prayer and a brief address. Beza's excellent remarks on the advantage of education are worth reading even now. The college of Geneva was henceforth the training-school of all reformed France. Scholars flocked to it from all directions. Soon after its foundation, the lowest of its seven classes numbered three hundred. Amid all this varied work in church and school Beza did not lose sight of the cause of the Reformation at large. The persecutions in France distressed him. He went to Germany (November, 1559) to impress the serious state of things on the

good elector Frederick Third of Heidelberg. The elector agreed that a petition in his name, prepared by Beza, be sent to the French king. But though the king gave the embassy the most flattering assurances, victims still were slain, among them Anna du Bourg, the celebrated parliamentary counselor.

Beza would not give up his efforts to mediate between Lutherans and Calvinists on the question of the sacrament. Yet he was obliged to acknowledge that amid the hot strife of parties his words of peace were spoken to the winds. He was stirred to reply to the rough attack on Calvin's doctrine by the Hamburg doctor, Jerome Westphal, and to answer even more sharply the abuse of Tileman Hesshus. Who can blame Beza if he forgot moderation, and ventured expressions which were hardly suited to effect an understanding upon so sacred a question? Yet how happily he expressed himself in his writing against Westphal: "Of invectives, reproaches, accusations, and defenses, there have been more than enough. It is a cause of repentance and sorrow that the gospel has been hindered so long by this sad dispute. Let it be thus far and no farther with this rivalry in enmity, which our sins have brought upon us. Why not emulate one another in love?" But the day for this had not come, and who shall censure that age in comparison with our own, for are we any better? Beza's keen eye saw that the disputes of the reformers were promising their foes a triumph. He deemed it a time, notwithstanding the schism, to present a public and full confession of his own faith. This he did in a little book, originally written in French, as an explanation of his views to his father, but published now, in a more extended form, in Latin (1560). The book produced a very great sensation. It was translated into Italian. A hundred years later it served as an authority in the reformed church, and was anathematized by the archbishop of Paris in the year of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

The time was come when Beza must testify his faith, not in books, but in person, in the presence of the world's great ones,—the same faith for which his brethren in France were persecuted. Henry Second dying, the party in France opposed to reform joined the Guises against the Bourbons and Anthony of Navarre. On the side of the latter were the Huguenots, as the reformed were named, with Condé, the glorious Coligny, and other noblemen. Navarre was, at heart, but half Protestant. Only after long hesitation did he decide to hear some distinguished Huguenot teacher, and reflect upon the points at issue. No man seemed better fitted to become his teacher than Beza, who had noble descent on his side. A letter was sent to Calvin from Navarre asking for Beza, and Calvin advised him to go. The Huguenot nobles were assembled with the king of Navarre in Nérac, the old capitol of the duchy of Albret. Queen Joanna of Albret, mother of the coming Henry Fourth, was present. Thither Beza took his journey. After twelve years' exile,

he trod French soil once more. Guarded a part of the way by armed horsemen, he reached Nérac in safety. Around his pulpit thronged nobles, warriors, and people. He certainly made an impression on Navarre, but without any definite result. Queen Joanna, however, who was at first opposed to Beza, had her heart touched, and became a "second Deborah" of a striving Israel.

After three months in France, Beza returned to Geneva, and found the city full of French exiles, for whom he and Calvin needed to provide. The plague had come, also, and taken away several friends and associates. He heard with pain of the death of his old friend and teacher, Wolmar. Soon his presence was again demanded in France. There, as in other lands, a conference was to decide the question of religion. It was called by the king (July 25, 1561) to meet at the abbey of Poissy, near Paris. Here "all were to appear, of whatever condition, who had anything to present respecting religion." The invitation was accompanied by a solemn promise of safe-conduct. No one, it was thought by the French Protestants, could represent them better than Beza. An invitation was sent him by Condé and Coligny and the reformed church of Paris, through a nobleman, Claudio of Pradello. After precautions for his safety, Beza acceded to this invitation.

He entered Paris the 22d of August, 1561. He was presented to the court of St. Germain. The following Sunday he held public worship, at the desire of the assembly, before a chosen company. He was given opportunity, also, at the house of the king of Navarre, in the presence of the queen-mother, Catherine de' Medici, to answer the cardinal of Lorraine, and to meet charges against him respecting the sacrament (as that he had said, "Christum esse in coena sicut in cœno"). The formal conference first met, with all ceremony, the 9th of September, in the great vaulted hall of the abbey of Poissy. It was a brilliant convocation. On the throne sat Charles Ninth, still a child, while round him were the lords and ladies of the royal house. The queen-mother, the nobles, the church-officials, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, with the doctors of the Sorbonne, as the representatives of the university, were present in their costly robes. When, strikingly different from these, there entered thirty-four preachers and elders, the representatives of the reformed church of France, clad in modest garments, contrasting greatly with the brilliant array, a haughty cardinal uttered the bitter words, "Here come the Geneva dogs!" But Beza had his answer for the man in scarlet. "There is need," said he, "of faithful dogs in the Lord's fold, to bark at the ravening wolves!"

When the proceedings had been opened by the worthy chancellor, L'Hopital, by an address, Beza, in beginning, turned to the king with the declaration that it was, above all things, necessary to begin by invoking God. Falling on his knees, he prayed: "Lord God, Father eternal,

almighty, we acknowledge and confess before thy holy majesty that we are poor sinners, conceived and born in sin, inclined to every evil and averse from all good; that we constantly transgress thy holy laws, and bring upon us ruin and death by thy most righteous judgment. But, O Lord, we repent, and are sorry that we have offended Thee; we condemn ourselves and our transgressions with true repentance, and earnestly long for thy grace to help our misery." (These words, as is known, form the "public confession" with which the French church, and also the reformed German church, still begin public worship.) Beza continued: "Since it pleases Thee to-day thus highly to favor thy unprofitable servants, suffering them freely to confess the truth of thine Holy Word in the presence of the king whom Thou hast set over them, and of this illustrious assembly, we pray Thee, O God and Father of all light, that Thou after thine ineffable goodness and mercy wouldest enlighten our minds, control our hearts and thoughts, and lead them into all truth, and direct our words that we may confess and present the secret things made known to us according to the measure of thy good pleasure, and revealed to men, for their salvation, not with our lips only, but with the whole heart in purity and sincerity, to the glory and honor of thine holy name, and to the welfare and prosperity of our king and his entire house, to the comfort and peace of all Christendom, and especially of this dear realm. Lord God, almighty Father, we ask this only in the name and for the sake of thy dear Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour. Amen."

Then, having first said the Lord's prayer, he rose and delivered a well-considered address to the king, opening the condition of ^{His address before the king.} affairs, and presenting a short confession of faith as held by the Protestants. He frankly stated the reformed view of the Lord's Supper. He repelled the charge that they made of the observance a mere commemoration. He solemnly affirmed that it was a real communion of Christ's body, only combating the local presence of that body in the bread, the transubstantiation theory of the Romanists and the ubiquity theory of the Lutherans. Locally, Christ's body and blood are as far removed from bread and wine as the highest heaven, where Christ dwells, is removed from the earth. Here he touched the tenderest spot. Till this point he had been heard quietly. Now broke forth a tempest. "Blasphemavit! Blasphemavit!" ("He has spoken blasphemy!") resounded on all sides. The cardinal of Tournon and others tried to have the king forbid the daring orator to proceed, and threatened to leave the hall, but were brought to order by the king. The discussion went on for days, and was continued in smaller assemblies. It need not be followed in its details. The desired result was not obtained. Negotiations were broken off. Beza remained for a time in France, obeying the express wish of queen Catherine, and at every opportunity strengthened the hearts of the reformed by his sermons. He witnessed the bloody com-

bats brought on by the religious war, which proved inevitable. He was present, as a chaplain, at the battle of Dreux. His influence contributed to the strict discipline which was established in the army of the Huguenots, commanding the respect even of their foes.

In May, 1563, he returned to Geneva. He was the more needed as Calvin drew near his end, which came soon afterwards. Who was so fit to take his place as Beza? Yet his modesty forbade him to deem himself the life-long successor of Calvin. At his request a yearly moderator of the meetings of the Geneva clergy ("vénérable compagnie") was chosen. At the end of each year a strict censorship was instituted. So great confidence was felt in Beza that he was yearly re-elected until 1580, when the aged man was opposed, for unworthy motives. The burden thus imposed upon him may be imagined, yet it was borne by him to old age. Besides the daily throng of duties, the sad events of his times came very close to him. He did not think of Geneva only. He was confessedly the patriarch of the reformed church of France. Hence, to name one of his acts, he sat as president of the synod of Rochelle (April, 1571), with the leave of Geneva. The massacre of St. Bartholomew's (August, 1572) was not wholly a surprise to him. (He had warned Henry of Navarre, just before, against marrying a Romanist princess.) None the less Beza, like others, was overwhelmed by the calamity. He received it as a judgment of God. On his motion a day of fasting and prayer was observed (September). He preached a sermon of encouragement. Many who had fled from France were in the assembly. They continued to come in growing throngs, and he and his associates made it their first business to take care of them. They set the example of giving, and turned their houses into inns for the exiles. The going over of Henry Fourth to Romanism was deeply felt by Beza. It was long supposed that he had kept silence upon it as something that could not be helped, but a few years since there was discovered in Geneva a letter of 1593, in which Beza addresses himself to the king's conscience, and admonishes him not to consider what shall bring him honor, but to seek the glory of God, and place his confidence in One who has rescued him from greater difficulties than the present, and who will still uphold him by a mighty arm. He reminds Henry of words which he had himself spoken: "If God will that I be king, it will come to pass, however man may try to hinder it. If He will it not, neither do I will it." It was a saying worthy of a Christian king. He placed before him David's example, whom he might not only imitate, but surpass, by copying his virtues and avoiding his failings. But Beza's warning was too late. He had to submit to things as they were, and, conscious of having done his part, hid his pain and committed the future to God. In August following he wrote, "God be thanked that faith has not left my soul, yet I am sore troubled and vexed. What hopes we reposed in this

prince, and how grievously has he sinned against God, the holy angels, and the saints on the earth! Our only refuge is God's grace; it cannot be his will to give us over utterly to destruction!" Beza was impartial in recognizing the good will and kind intentions of Henry Fourth, shown especially in his favoring the reformed in his Edict of Nantes. He deemed the king God's agent in preserving the French reformed church. He had occasion (1599) for meeting Henry once more, when the king came to succor Geneva, at a critical time, when she was threatened by foes in Savoy. Beza led an embassy from Geneva to Henry, and closed his address by adapting the words of Simeon: "Lord, now lettest Thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; for mine eyes have seen before my death not only the deliverance of thine unworthy servants, but also the protector of all France and of all the believing." Henry in turn addressed Beza as "father," and dismissed him with a present.

It would exceed our limits and edify our readers little to follow Beza into other fields, especially into his various controversial writings. He was present at the religious conference at Mömbelgard (1587), appointed by Frederick of Würtemberg to confer with the famed Lutheran theologian, Jacob Andreä, upon the Lord's Supper, and also upon predestination.

A noble constancy was shown by Beza in his last days, attacked as he was on all sides, in repelling the temptations offered him by Meets Francis de Sales. a high official of the Romish church to return to her bosom.

This was Francis de Sales, who when a young man was appointed Romish bishop of Geneva, and ventured upon the hard task by the pope's command. He asked Beza, among other things, whether he believed that any could be saved in the Romanist church. To this Beza could not say no. But this was very different from acknowledging the Roman church as the only one that could save, or as a truer church than the reformed. Beza, strong in his convictions, was not tempted to this an instant. Briberies, to which the otherwise noble man Francis de Sales ignobly resorted, were of the least avail with Beza. It was not to be a gross bribe, but only an arrangement which might render the step more easy for Beza. Therefore, the bishop would insure him an annual pension of four thousand dollars, with something more in prospect. Beza could no longer contain himself. The word was on his tongue, "Get thee behind me, Satan." Whether he really said that aloud, as some report, or whether, according to an oral tradition, he replied in milder but equally plain language, saying, "Go, sir; I am too old and too deaf to be able to hear such words," we need not dispute. This much is certain: that the tempter from that hour left him with the firm impression that the man had "a heart of stone."

In his later years, Beza withdrew more and more from public labor.

His wife had died in 1588. He had lived with her happily for forty years. They had been given no children. By advice of his friends he took as a second wife in his old age a widow of Geneva, Catharine del Piano. Until he was sixty-five he had the best of health. Now the burdens of old age came,—rheumatic pains, sleeplessness, frequent fainting fits, even in the pulpit, and trembling of the hand, which compelled him to employ an amanuensis. In October, 1595, he made his last will, especially thanking God for the mercy shown a poor sinner. Yet his enfeebled frame lasted till towards the close of 1605. On the 2d of October his death was foreboded. The preacher of the city hastened to him; also the professors came and received his farewells. Taken with paralysis the 15th of October, he quietly fell asleep. He had expressed the wish in his will to be laid in the public grave-yard of Plain-Palais, but the government gave him burial in the chancel of St. Peter's.

Of Beza's writings his Latin New Testament deserves mention for its fidelity and elegance. His Bible expositions are valuable; also his histories, especially his history of the reformed church of France from 1521 to 1563. He possessed a character of great gentleness and affableness, as well as resoluteness. The saying of his opponents has come down to our time: "We would rather be with Beza in hell than with Calvin in heaven." We believe and rejoice that they both are written in heaven. Yet we will not palliate the faults of either at the cost of truth. The Lord knows his own. To his own master every one standeth or falleth. Meanwhile, it becomes us to honor those who have preached to us the word of salvation, and to follow their faith. — K. R. H.

LIFE XIV. COLIGNY OF FRANCE.

A. D. 1518—A. D. 1572. LAICAL LEADER,—FRANCE.

NOTHING is stranger than the history of party names. They are decided by accident, heralded by prejudice, and hallowed by association. The disciples of the Crucified, named Nazarenes by the Jews, who thought Nazareth was the birthplace of Jesus, were termed Christians by the Latins, who thought Christ was a man's given name. The title, at first given in reproach and scorn, for centuries has been a designation of highest honor. In our own day the noble activity of some Christian Englishmen, sent of God to stir up the reformed church of France to a new life, has obtained the name of Methodists for all our French people who hold to the traditions and doctrines of that noble church which has been martyred both in old times and in new.

Our fathers, the reformers, met the common fate. They were called successively Lutherans, Protestants, and Sacramentarians, names easily

explained. Finally, the wrath of their foes fixed on the name Huguenots, which still passes among the people of France as a term of severe reproach. The origin of the name is described in three ways: some think it a corruption of the German word "eidgenossen," or "confederates;" others derive it from Hugo, whom popular superstition in Tours portrayed as a ghost or hobgoblin who haunted the streets by night; the persecuted reformers having meetings by night, which were compared by the fanatic mob to those of king Hugo. Others, still, think that the well-known attachment of the Protestants to the family of Hugo Capet, impelling them ever to sustain their native kings against foreign influence and control, moved their Romish, Lorrainish, and Spanish foes to give a nickname which impartial history regards to-day as a title of honor and an open confession of their cruel persecution.

Be this as it may, the followers of those heroes who died by thousands on the battle-fields, or with glad courage on the scaffold, need blush neither for their deeds nor for their name. All the ancient calumnies, refuted, one after another, by later investigations, have never obscured two facts: that in religion those men were the most upright Christians; in politics they were the truest Frenchmen. I count myself happy in being able to honor their memory, and that among the Germans, our brethren of old time, who have been more favored by political circumstances than have we. And if I give a foreign note, I am sure it will be gladly heard. I regret only that I am confined in this account within such narrow limits. Yet this is a less serious misfortune than might be supposed. For to portray Coligny is nothing less than to present the Huguenot character in a most complete form. Frenchman, nobleman, statesman, father, warrior, believer, all in one, he united in himself all the virtues, all the talents, all the misfortunes, of his party. In order that he might be a perfect Huguenot, there was wanting to him neither the dreadful necessity of civil war, nor the mental discernment which outstripped his age, nor invincible courage, nor that martyr renown which was more useful to the Reformation than his noble feats of arms!

Gaspar de Chatillon, count Coligny, was born February 16, 1518. He was the son of marshal de Chatillon (who died 1522) and Louise de Montmorency. One of his brothers was cardinal Odel de Chatillon, who administered the Lord's Supper after the Huguenot fashion in his episcopal palace, was married in his red robe, and died by poison in 1571. Another brother was Francis d'Andelot, a man equal in valor to Coligny, and perhaps surpassing him in boldness, but not so complete a hero as the latter, in presence of whose splendid qualities even the rarest merits became obscure. The son of Coligny, Francis de Chatillon, was the avenger of his father in dreadful wars, and lived long enough to win fame as a warrior, but not renown equal to that of his father.

Coligny was brought to court, while still a youth, by his uncle the constable, and found as his first friend Francis of Lorraine, afterwards duke of Guise, who was to prove his stubborn and deadly enemy. The young man became, in succession, lieutenant under the duke of Orleans, lieutenant-colonel of the French army (1547), lieutenant-general (1550), governor of Paris and of the isle of France (1551), and at last admiral (1552). By the last title he is known in history. A war began by Henry Second breaking the treaty with Spain. The courage of Coligny did not avert the disaster which is sure to follow a breach of covenant. Losing the battle of St. Quentin's, Coligny was made prisoner and kept in the fortress of Gand. His enforced leisure under God became to him a source of profoundest knowledge. He read in prison the writings of the reformers, and especially the Bible, by which he came to a correct view of Romish doctrine. Becoming free by the treaty of Château Cambresis, he was allied forever to the cause of the French Reformation. He was now forty years old. The purity of his morals, the earnestness of his character, the firmness of his faith, and the tried discretion which he never lost save once, when his great soul could not believe in the treachery of a boy,—all pointed him out as the leader of the Protestants, and gave him an influence which excited the envy of Condé. He served France through the rule of Francis Second, without needing to draw his sword in the cause of his faith. At last, after numerous intrigues and contradictory edicts, after a conspiracy which failed and a meeting of the states

Takes up arms for his faith. general which proved weak and futile before the prevailing power of the Guises, Coligny was compelled, lover of his country as he was, to take up arms. Whoever will study the plots, insurrections, and crimes of that bloody era will not fail to acquit the admiral. He was obliged to stand up against enemies who were the enemies of France and its king before they became the persecutors of Coligny and the Reformation. Yet the admiral formed his sad purpose not without hesitation. He yielded to the inflexible, practical, and far-sighted spirit of his wife. This devout and resolute woman, Charlotte de Laval, represented that they must either proceed to extremities or betray their religion. "I adjure you," said she, "in the name of God, not to trifle in the future, else I shall appear a witness against you at the judgment." Charles Ninth was king. Coligny was made by the reformed league lieutenant-general under Condé, but was foremost in military talent. At first he rejected the proposition to call on the German and English Protestants for assistance. He desired that the French should settle their own grievous differences. He was forced to change his view. Henceforward he was heart and hand with the Reformation, and its unshaken if not always its unbeaten champion.

For a catalogue of all the valiant deeds of the Protestant hero there is not space. We will dwell on those which especially distinguish him and

his brother Huguenots. We do not think it necessary to vindicate Coligny from a part in the death of the duke of Guise by the fanaticism and revenge of Poltrot. A single fact helps the admiral's memory more than all the vindications put forth, — than even those which he wrote himself. When he was struck and his finger shattered by the copper bullet from the rifle of the regicide Maurevel, who had lain in ambush for him three days in the house of a canon, he said, after the amputation, "I have no enemy save the dukes of Guise. Yet I would not affirm that they dealt this blow." Who can believe that a man so incapable of suspicion could have soiled his hands by a murder!

Exposed constantly to attacks on his life, facing loud threats of imprisonment, Coligny did not cease, after the unfortunate battle of Dreux, to negotiate, knowing that he was not fighting against king or government, but only for liberty of conscience. When besieging Chartres he received the news that his wife lay in the last agony. He hastened to her with skilled physicians. But science could do nothing. The valiant woman died March 7, 1568, leaving her husband in deepest sorrow. The fatal illness of Charlotte de Laval came from her nursing the soldiers in the hospital of Orleans. Upon his return to Chatillon, Coligny was obliged, with Condé, to take refuge in Rochelle. After the fatal battle of Jarnac, in the expectation of being cut to pieces with his German allies, he made his last will, which recently has been discovered and published. He makes confession in clearest language of his religion, and gives directions for the education of his children.

Ever sacrificing himself to his negotiations with an unprincipled court, ever formidable in battle, he wearies neither of fighting nor of negotiating. He addresses the most touching letters to the king, to urge upon him to set a limit to the sufferings of his Huguenot subjects. For even during the time when a truce was ordered, and deceptive promises of peace were made to the unhappy Protestants, the various courts kindled martyr fires in all the French cities.

At last (September 13, 1569), Coligny was outlawed by a parliamentary decree; a reward of fifty thousand dollars was offered for him, living or dead. The admiral had achieved wonders of valor and skill in a siege of Poitiers, then the largest city of France after Paris, but to no purpose. Once more advancing to battle, he was carried away from the field of Assais half-dead. Borne along on his litter, a nobleman, named L'Estrange, was carried by his side. Bowing to Coligny, he greeted him, saying, "Indeed, God is very sweet." They were touching words to the admiral, and witnessed the piety animating those undaunted warriors.

We now approach the catastrophe which brought the life of Coligny to its well-known termination. When hardly recovered from a severe illness (at St. Etienne, 1570), the admiral marched upon Paris, and with varying success and disaster, ending in success, threatened the capital.

Catherine de' Medici and the Guises, who were arrogant after victory
At last wins and feeble after reverses, concluded peace (August 8, 1570),
peace. against the opposition of the papal and the Spanish am-
bassadors. Coligny, distrusting the queen-mother, withdrew to Rochelle,
and attended the seventh national synod, presided over by Theodore Beza
(April 2 to 11, 1571). Soon after, following his old maxim, "Better for
a man to die once than to be always anxious about preserving his life,"
he decided, in his weariness of civil war, to go to Paris. In this he was
deluded more by his own magnanimous spirit than by the cunning of
Catherine. Her son, Charles Ninth, was young, but sufficiently knowing
to be a hypocrite. He called Coligny his father, embraced him, and swore
that he would follow his counsel. He said, with Satan-like cordiality,
"We hold you now. You shall not leave us again at your pleasure." He
counseled with Coligny respecting a proposed campaign in Flanders.

August 22d, the admiral, on his way home, after a summons to the
Louvre, was shot by Maurevel, one bullet shattering the forefinger of
his right hand, another his left elbow. Inflammation rapidly seized the
wounds, which were poisoned by the oxidized copper bullets. The emi-
nent surgeon, Ambroise Paré, cut off the injured finger. But from the
inferior instruments at his command he was forced thrice to begin anew.
The spectators, Henry of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and Laroche-
foucault, wept at the sight. Coligny, entirely composed, remarked, "Why
do ye weep for me, my friends? I reckon myself happy to have received
these wounds in the cause of God." He then turned to the preacher
Merlin, and said, "Let us pray our Lord God that He grant us the gift
of endurance." As the good minister prayed, the hero poured his heart
out before God, dedicated himself to Him, and declared that for God he
was ready to live as also to die. He then whispered in the ear of one of
his attendants that he should give Merlin a hundred dollars for the aid
of the poor of Paris. The king, Charles Ninth, coming in, greeted him,
saying, "My dear father, the hurt is yours, but the enduring grief is
mine." With fearful oaths he swore that he would revenge this cow-
ardly assassination. For an answer, Coligny contented himself with giv-
ing some advice respecting the campaign against Flanders. Not many
hours after, this king had given the signal for the massacre of St. Bar-
tholomew's (August 24, 1572).

The victims of this night were as noble and saintly as the executioners
were dastardly and cruel. A little before daybreak, the admiral was
wakened by the alarm bell and the noise of Guise's cavalry. He bade
Merlin join with him in prayer. He then commanded his people to take
flight, saying he had long been ready to die. One of the assassins had
already demanded admission in the king's name, and entered the palace.
The guards had been struck down. The chamber door was broken open.
Before the great man who sat there, wan and majestic, the murderer,

Behme, was awed as if he had beheld a spirit. "Young man," Coligny said, "thou assaultest an old man and a wounded. . . . Thou thyself, however, canst not shorten my days." Behme plunged the Falls in the massacre. bar with which he had broken the door into the body of the admiral. The gray-haired nobleman fell, murmuring that he was not slain as became a man. His head was struck by his assassins with repeated blows. Then hearing the voice of the duke of Guise, sitting upon his horse in the street, "Behme, hast done?" they threw the body of Coligny out of the window. Guise and the duke of Angoulême at once recognized him, when the blood had been wiped off his features. They took their leave, after kicking the corpse in the face. The head was cut off, embalmed, and sent to Rome; the trunk was dragged in blood and filth through the streets of Paris. A few years afterwards the body of this same duke of Guise was trodden under foot by Henry Third. Coligny's son was met by Catherine de' Medici in the galleries of the Louvre, and as, amazed at his growth, she cried, "How thou resemblest thy father!" the young Chatillon replied, "God grant me that blessing!"

It may be asked why, with men like Coligny, France was not won for the Reformation. Several influences may be named which gave Romanism the victory. We may recount as playing a part the defeats of the Protestant armies, the faithlessness of Catherine de' Medici, the ambition of the house of Lorraine, the plots of Spain and Rome. But the chief reason is to be sought in the slightly religious feeling of the French, and their leveling, democratic tendencies. The French spirit is better represented by Rabelais and Montaigne than by John Calvin. The Huguenots were unpopular from their chaste and devout lives. France loves the mass, which involves no obligation, above Calvinistic exhortations to repentance, which smite her faults and frivolities. Moreover, the nation was bent on centralization and social homogeneity. Louis Eleventh, Richelieu, Mazarin, Louis Fourteenth, and Napoleon secured these objects. The Reformation, appealing to the individual conscience, is, on the other hand, the champion of liberty, opposing the false uniformity which implies slavery. As we look at events thus, we see that the French Revolution, which, in God's providence, revenged the Huguenots upon the princes and priests, stained with their blood, is anything but a result of the Reformation. Protestantism in France fell with a class of nobles of which Coligny was, and still is, the glorious representative. Had it remained pervaded by a pure and living faith, it had been the strong bulwark of a limited monarchy, of a freedom based upon a division of authority, of a religion active and spiritual. Either too early or too late did the voice of the reformers seek to awake the conscience of the nation of the holy Louis again to life.—L. R.

LIFE XV. RENATA OF FERRARA.

A. D. 1510—A. D. 1575. LAICAL LEADER,—ITALY.

ITALY, the beautiful, the blessed, sung so often by poets, was once favored with a glad spring-time in religion. Italy was not wholly untouched by the life-giving Reformation.¹

We turn our eyes from the general view of the work of Reformation in Italy to one of the small Italian courts, which perhaps above any other spot in the peninsula was a refuge for the reformed who suffered for their Christian faith. In this court dwelt a noble woman who is to be remembered by us as a brave friend and defender of the gospel. Renata, or Renée, was the daughter of the French king Louis Twelfth and of Anna of Brittany. She was born October 25, 1510, at the castle of Blois, where three years afterward her mother died. She was educated in a way according with her lofty position. There may be something over-drawn in the stories told by authors concerning her profound and varied learning. The fact of her inclination to intellectual culture remains, and is all the nobler in that back of it lay the loftier treasure of a pious, virtuous character. The princess's hand was early sought by noble wooers. She

¹ The salutation sent from those "of Italy" by the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews testifies that not in Rome only, but in other parts of Italy, the gospel took root very early. When afterwards the Roman bishops tried to extend their rule, and mostly at the expense of other churches, which historically were of equal authority, there were not wanting some who opposed the attempt with Christian frankness, and tried to remain independent of Rome. Thus especially the Milan church, of which the great Ambrose was at one time bishop, kept its independence with respect to the mode of public worship. In like manner, when image worship, relio worship, and pilgrimages prevailed in the west, a bishop in Italy, Claudio of Turin, eloquently opposed these abuses, and that with the Bible in his hand. Even if the Waldensians, the precursors of the Reformation, are not to be traced back to this Claudio and the valleys of his diocese, as was long supposed, it is certain that those pious people, who as "poor men of Lyons" suffered persecution in the twelfth century, established themselves chiefly in Lombardy and upper Italy. In the same way, we find among the stoutest opposers of the papacy in the Middle Ages Arnold of Brescia, whose republican ideas found many adherents even in Rome, but led to measures which went beyond Christian limits, not to name the Cathari, "the Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirit," the "Spirituales," "Fraticelli," and other sects which disturbed the south of Europe. Very diverse elements were mixed together which needed to be separated by a clearer knowledge of Christian liberty. Though the light of science by itself cannot effect this separation, but only spiritual enlightenment, which comes from the Bible and leads men's minds into a way well pleasing to God, still the revival of learning, to which even some of the popes contributed, prepared the way for the revival of Christianity. Thus it came to pass that after the Middle Ages had fulfilled their task and exhausted their powers, Italy became the country to lead in a new era of culture, rising from the study of the ancient classics, and known generally by the loud-sounding name of the "revival of learning." Even before the fall of the Byzantine empire and the capture of Constantinople by the Turks (1453), which by means of Greek fugitives spread in the west a more correct knowledge of the old Greek writers, art and science had been well fostered in Italy. Who has not heard of Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch? Did not the learned Laurentius Valla, before 1450, to use the words of Erasmus, "evoke ancient literature from its grave, and restore Italian eloquence to its pristine glory?" Nor was this all. The same scholar attacked with keen criticism the "Donation of Constantine," by which the popes claimed their worldly domain, and opposed, in spite of persecutions, many of the prejudices and abuses of his generation. It is enough to suggest the names of Marsilius Ficinus, John Francis Pico, count Mirandola, whose writings were studied by Zwingle, all of whom promoted philosophic study among Italian scholars, and the

was betrothed when very young to Charles of Austria, afterwards Charles Fifth, the emperor; but the relation was broken off. A contemplated union with Joachim, the Protestant elector of Brandenburg, was also not effected. Instead, Renata was wedded (1527) to an Italian prince, Hercules of Este, duke of Ferrara and Modena. Even before her marriage she had become possessed of reformed ideas ^{Her reformed faith.} through the scholars who frequented the court of the renowned Marguerite of Navarre, sister of Francis First. Renata welcomed their doctrines, and sought to make entrance for them in her new home. Her husband, who neither in intellect nor in morals proved himself worthy of such a wife, indulged her in this as long as political considerations permitted. Hence her countrymen who fled from France for the sake of their religion found a refuge in the court of the duchess. We find (1534) among them the renowned poet Clement Marot, to whom the French church owes her poetic version of the Psalms of David. He was introduced to the duchess and made her secretary through Renata's governess, Madame von Soubise. Along with him came his friend, Lyon Jamet. John Calvin, too, when an exile, stayed several months at the court of Ferrara under the assumed name of Charles d' Heppeville. ^{Shelters Calvin.}

In after days Renata maintained a correspondence with this great and renowned man. Italian scholars, also, who favored the Reformation found friendly reception in Ferrara, and were protected as scholars.¹

devoted, almost fanatically enthusiastic Dominican, Girolamo Savonarola, in Florence, the preacher of repentance, proclaiming the terrors of divine justice with the authority and influence of an ancient prophet. Italy and Germany had long affected each other, as seen in the political history of the Middle Ages, the wars of the Guelfs and the Ghibellines, the journeys to Rome by the German emperors, the crusades, and the great church courts of Pisa, Constance, and Basel. Accordingly, the newly awakened intellectual life of Italy sent its bright gleam over the Alps. On the other hand, the uprising of Germans against corruptions coming from Italy could not but be felt by the latter country. At first the strange rumors about the bold step of the Augustine monk at Wittenberg would be carried abroad. Soon the opinions of scholars upon the affair and upon the tendency of the German Reformation began to appear. The writings of Luther, Melanchton, Zwingle, and others found their way to Italy, though under changed titles, to say nothing of the personal intercourse between Italy and the parts of Switzerland stirred by religious excitement. There was soon no large Italian city that did not have friends and followers of the gospel, who were also influencing the people. Thus, Antonio Brucioli, at Florence, circulated the Bible in the popular tongue. Giovanni Mollio, a Minorite monk, preached at Bologna. Celio Secundo Curione, the teacher at Pavia, was surrounded by students thirsting for instruction and salvation. The new reformed doctrine, which was in part the old doctrine, reached even Naples and Sicily. In Naples, the noble Spaniard Juan Valdez led the disciples to whom Bernardino Ochino and Peter Martyr Vermigli preached God's Word. In Palermo, Sicily, we find the preacher, Benedetti Locarno. In the little district of Lucca, on the Gulf of Genoa, whither Peter Martyr came from Naples, gathered a considerable company who were led by him to a clearer knowledge of religion. That Italian Protestantism was more than the denial of old traditions and authority, and that it established the foundations of a positive belief, is clearly seen in the brief but solid volume which was published in Venice in 1542, entitled *The Benefits of Christ*, written, as is believed, by Aonio Paleario, of Siena. How clearly and scripturally, and therefore convincingly, the doctrine of justification through faith is set forth in it may be found by our readers for themselves, for unexpectedly this work, which it was supposed had been utterly destroyed by the Inquisition, has been rediscovered, and has been translated into German and Italian by a German theologian.

¹ Among those who became ornaments to her court were Celio Calcaginii and Celio Secundo Curione, named before, Lelio Giraldi, Bartolomeo Riccio, Maucelli Palingenio, Marco Antonio Flaminio, C. Kilian and John Sinapi, and Fulvio Peregrino Morato, a native of Mantua, father of the afterwards noted Olympia Morata, who studied under her father in the company of Renata's daughter Anna, afterwards wife of Francis of Guise.

They abode undisturbed even when the duke, to please the pope and the emperor, had expelled the French exiles, to the sorrow of the duchess.

In that day it was not very uncommon for women to learn Greek and Latin literature and poetry, and to represent the classic dramas. During a visit of Paul Third (1543) at Ferrara, the youth of the court, with three daughters of the duke, presented the "Brothers" of Terence. The mother, Renata, gave attention to scholarly works, especially philology and history. Her study of ancient languages and history undoubtedly bore fruit in giving her a more exact knowledge of Bible doctrine and history. How far the Christian scholars of Ferrara confessed their reformed faith, or expressed it in sermons or public worship, history fails to tell. Their religious convictions were of varying degrees: some merely sympathized with reform; others showed a decided and intelligent faith. The chief man of the court, the duke himself, was not only not in sympathy with his wife, but consented too readily to suggestions and efforts from France intended to check the spread of reform in Italy. Renata's nephew, king Henry Second of France, sent his chief inquisitor, the Dominican Matthias Orriz, to Ferrara to preach against heresy and to move the duke to persecute the Protestants residing at his court. Even Renata was to be forced to listen to the fanatic monk's arguments. It was in vain. She was true to her faith, even though her cruel foes went so far as to take away her children and kept her in close imprisonment. Her husband dying, Renata went back to France, and lived

^{Her noble} (1559) at her castle of Montargis, near Orleans. She ceased bounty. not to befriend and protect her persecuted brethren in the faith. She often fed a hundred of them at her table. This exercise of hospitality was also forbidden her. Popish courtiers told the French king that a plot was forming against him at Montargis. Renata was ordered to send away her guests. Her own son-in-law, the duke of Guise, appeared one day before the castle, and threatened to cannonade it unless she delivered over the "rebels." "Tell your master," she said to the duke's agents, "that I myself will mount the battlements, and will see whether he will dare to slay a king's daughter." Guise soon after met a sad death at the hands of a fanatic Protestant nobleman, Poltrot, who shot him from an ambush with a poisonous bullet, after the battle of Dreux (1563). The duchess, in a letter to Calvin, expressed her abhorrence of the deed. She hoped that her unhappy son-in-law, in spite of his blind opposition to the gospel, was not one of the reprobate. This hope she uttered frankly, not fearing to be counted lacking in zeal by her fellows. Receiving a direct order from the king to dismiss her guests, the duchess in vain remonstrated against this encroachment upon her rights in her own house. She was compelled to yield to violence. In bidding her guests farewell she gave them the most touching proofs of her regard, striving to her utmost ability to alleviate the hardship of

their lot. She placed her carriages and horses at their disposal, and made all possible provision for their future. She remained herself true to her evangelical convictions to her blessed end. This came in Montargis, June 12, 1575.

We cannot close without noting that in the days of trial in the sixteenth century, as in the earlier centuries of Christianity, it was granted to women especially to confess their holy convictions, even amid the utmost perils, with a heroic courage which rose above the weakness of their sex. Italy affords more than one example of this, as do other countries also. The devotion shown by women of that day to theology, their man-like perseverance in its study, without any attempt to appear learned, fill us with amazement. We have a testimony upon this point from a Romanist eye-witness of that century, who wrote the following concerning the ladies of Italy: "In the present age we have the remarkable spectacle of women, whose minds usually are given to ^{Christian ladies of Italy.} frivolity rather than learning, fully imbued with heavenly lessons. In Campania, where I dwell, the most learned of preachers may grow more learned and devout by conversation with ladies. In my native Mantua I have found the same. I could gladly dwell on many examples of intellectual greatness and hearty devotion among women, which I witnessed to my great edification, and which I have hardly seen in the most learned men of my class." How changed is Italy now! Yet in these last years amazing events have occurred, which lead us to believe in a quiet movement of hearts. Surely, the fruit will be seen when the Word of God shall have obtained a free course. To Italy, the land so afflicted, true peace can come only by the means of which the greatest of her poets has sung:—

"Christ did not to his first disciples say,
'Go forth, and to the world preach idle tales,'
But unto them a true foundation gave;
And this so loudly sounded from their lips,
That, in the warfare to enkindle Faith,
They made of the Evangel shields and lances."

LONGFELLOW'S DANTE, *Paradiso*, xxix. 109-114.

K. R. H.

LIFE XVI. AONIO PALEARIO.

A. D. 1500 ?—A. D. 1570. LAICAL LEADER,—ITALY.

AONIUS PALEARIUS VERULANUS was born about 1500, in the little city of Veroli (the ancient Veruli of the Hernici), a little way from Rome. His real name was originally Antonio degli Pagliari. This he Latinized, after the fashion then prevailing among the friends of classic learning. But instead of Antonius as a first name, the youth took Aonius, to mark his respect for the Muses, whose dwelling, according to

Greek tradition, was at the foot of the Aonian mount, by the fountain of Aganippe, in Bœotia. Nor was this change of name idle play. It meant adherence to a party which by reviving ancient knowledge would transform its generation. This party had two divisions, with nothing in common save opposition to the old leaven of worn-out scholasticism. In every other respect they went different roads, in pursuit of opposite ends. The reckless spirits resigned themselves to the licentiousness and unbelief which, in the corrupt ages of Greece and Rome, had taken a bright garb of poesy to conceal their infamy, and like wanton hussies had led youth astray. Thoughtful spirits, on the other hand, were fashioning themselves upon the noble models of classic ages. They also devoted themselves, in many instances, to the zealous study of the Bible, seeking in that fountain the source of the divine life. Among these thoughtful spirits ranked — to use the most common form of his name — Aonio Paleario.

In early youth Paleario lost his parents and his three sisters. Their names have come down to us only through an inscription which he prepared in their honor, after some rough fellows of Veroli had defaced his mother's sepulchre. The inscription, which is in Latin, reads thus: "To his best parents Matthaeus Palearius and Clara Janarilla, and his excellent sisters Elisa, Francisca, and Janilla, Aonius Palearius, far away from his home, erected this memorial." A family friend, John Marcellus, to whom Paleario left his house in Veroli, and the bishop of the city, Ennius Philonardus, a life-long friend of the youth, interested themselves in his education. But soon the advantages afforded by his native city, a place of little repute, failed to meet the boy's desire for knowledge. He went to Rome (1521), and for six years devoted himself zealously to the study of philosophy. He included under this head every study which helped train his mind, especially the Greek and Latin classics, Aristotle, Cicero, and other thoughtful authors. He chose among classic poets those of graver character, especially Lucretius. He rejected his notion of the eternal course of nature, but in later years imitated his mode of writing in a didactic poem upon the immortality of the soul. To what extent our student made himself acquainted, while at Rome, with the Greek New Testament or the discoveries of the Swiss and German reformers is not known. He would only whisper what he knew of such things to his trusted friends, for it was dangerous to speak of them openly. Several of his patrons and friends were deeply interested not only in classic studies, but in thorough Bible Christianity. An unwelcome interruption came, however, to his scholarly pursuits. On May 6, 1527, Rome was taken by the Spanish and German troops of Charles Fifth, the city and its suburbs sacked and laid waste, while pope Clement Seventh fled to Engelsburg. The land was visited by famine and pestilence, the attendants of war, and Veroli did not escape. Paleario's labors were hindered, his

means of support dried up. He found no home either in Rome or in his own city. He had formed acquaintance with many men of the wealthy and cultured classes, the way having been prepared by his marked talents and their similarity of tastes. But now he was in a depressed state, for he had neither position, family, nor means of support. He did not accord with the leaders of his own school of thought. The powerful supporters of the opposite school were his enemies. He passed two years in serious disquiet. Finally he resolved to quit Rome forever. He would have liked, had the means been at his command, to remove into France and Germany, for he felt the ground beneath him sinking. His letters at this period declare an unrest and dissatisfaction of heart, the reason of which he does not unfold. He was possibly less reserved in conversation. His position is plain, if we grant that already he was acquainted with the writings of the German reformers, as well as of the older church fathers, Origen, Chrysostom, Augustine, Jerome, and others, and was at variance with the Romish system through acquaintance with evangelic truth. Though distant from the scenes where the great religious conflict was then waged, he nourished the same hopes which dwelt in Luther when (1520) he addressed his letter to Charles Fifth and the German nobility. Paleario indulged the imaginative thought that he might win the favor of the emperor and of his brother, king Ferdinand, by his literary endeavors. He perhaps thus expected to open a way for himself into Germany. Thus thinking, doubtless, he composed his Latin poem on the immortality of the soul, dedicating it to king Ferdinand, and taking useless pains to put it into his hands. Still by his poem Paleario won the regard of James Sadolet, the noble bishop of Carpentras, who procured its printing at Lyons (1536), bestowing great praise upon its author. Sadolet was one of the new school, and was even reputed to be inclined to Protestantism. His aid being needed by pope Paul Third, he was made a cardinal (1536). There was a gentler party at the papal court under this pope. It held many evangelical notions, especially regarding the Epistle to the Romans and the doctrine of justification through faith. But after the conference at Worms and Regensburg (1541), a schism entered the party, and an *ultra* church spirit, which at last carried the day. A bull was published (July 21, 1542) which established an inquisition to suppress in Italy all Protestant tendencies. Paleario even thus early was forced to endure troubles. He could not refrain from attacking sin in his ^{His great work.} pathway and confessing his belief by tongue and pen. Still his most weighty production, whose discovery has nobly renewed his memory in our day, was printed without his name, and only of late has become known as his. This work is the treatise in Italian on "The Benefits of Christ to Christians." It is a little book which so clearly and symmetrically, so ardently and scripturally, sets forth the doctrine of sal-

vation that it deserves to be in every Christian's hands, not as a notable memorial of the past, only, but as a means of edification to-day. This tract, it seems, reached the hands of cardinal Reginald Pole, was approved by him, and went through several other hands before publication. It was first printed in Venice in 1542, and published under date of 1543. A German translation in 1855 has in its preface the following from an evangelical doctor of theology (Dr. Tischendorf, of Leipzig): "This book was as small in size as great in spirit. It appeared anonymously, with no great name recommending it. It bore, too, a very simple title. But it at once found a way through its own fatherland and across its boundaries. Its influence was so powerful that it was as zealously read and circulated by the friends of Truth, as it was hunted, proscribed, and obliterated by her enemies. Six years after its appearance, as testified by one Paul Vergerius, under whose eyes the book won its triumphs and endured its conflicts, there were forty thousand copies printed and sold in Venice alone. Venice was rivaled, too, in this by other cities, especially by Modena, under the impulse of Morone, cardinal-bishop of Modena. Moreover, within these six years other lands, and especially France, appropriated the book by means of translations." The foe sought at once (1544), by a book in reply, to weaken the force of the treatise. They found soon that they could avail nothing against the overwhelming power of truth which was here so clearly manifested. They decided, therefore, to destroy the book by means of the Inquisition. This was achieved so completely that all hope was lost, after many a vain effort, of ever finding a copy of the treatise. But lo, the news came from Cambridge, in 1843, that in the library of St. John's College was a copy preserved of the Italian edition of 1543. A new edition was issued from it, in Cambridge, in 1855. Thus that witness which spoke so powerfully three centuries since in Italy speaks once again to the heart of that noble but degenerate people in their own beautiful Tuscan.

For a sample of the book, let its conclusion suffice: "We have reached the close of our reflections, in which our chief end was to extol and magnify, according to our feeble powers, the surpassing benefit which the Christian receives from Jesus Christ, the crucified; to show, also, that faith alone justifies, that is, that God accepts all persons as just who in truth believe that Jesus Christ has satisfied for their sins. Yet as the light is inseparable from the flame, which alone burns, so good works are inseparable from faith, which alone justifies. This most holy doctrine, which exalts Jesus Christ as eminently as it debases man's pride, is and will be attacked by those Christians who have Judaizing souls. Blessed he who, like Paul, will renounce all his own righteousness, and have none save the righteousness of Christ, clad in which he can confidently appear before God, and receive from Him the blessing and the inheritance of

heaven and earth, in fellowship with his only begotten Son Jesus Christ, our Lord, to whom be glory forever. Amen."

The imitator of Paul, like him, had here no abiding city. He led a wandering life as a roving teacher of Greek and Latin literature, of philosophy and rhetoric. True, he took Tuscany as a second father-land, and with the trifling remains of his patrimony bought a little property, heavily mortgaged, however,—the same that was once owned by that Cæcina whom Cicero defended in one of his orations. It lay near Siena, a day's ride from Florence, and within the jurisdiction of the little city of Colle di Valdenza. But seldom would its owner enjoy its repose, for he must teach to earn his bread. We find him in Siena (1530), in Padua (between 1531 and 1536), again in Siena (1536–1544), in Lucca (1545–1550), on his estate (1551–1556), in Milan (October 17, 1556–1560, or even later); then, for some years as it seems, upon his estate, and finally in the prisons of the Inquisition. In periods intervening he made short sojourns at various places. Many times traces of him are almost lost. Cares he had, and conflicts, and in his latter years infirmities. Of him could be literally said what is sung by Paul Gerhard:—

“The saintly praying souls who oft repeat farewell,
To leave, with heavy doles, the place they love to dwell,—
They wander to and fro; their heavy cross they bear,
Till death has brought them low, and earth's repose they share.”

Only it was denied Paleario to share earth's repose.

By the advice of his fatherly friend Ennius Philonardus, now cardinal, Paleario, when in his thirty-fourth year, married, and His private life. lived in happy wedlock, having two sons, Lampridius and Phædrus, and two daughters, Aspasia and Sophonisbe (whom he loved to call also Aonilla), who were all grown up at the time of their father's death. One of his friends gives us an introduction to his married life. When he was lying sick with fever and sideache, news was brought him by his servant that his wife, who was away on his estate, was in child-birth, and in dangerous condition. Directly the friend referred to comes at full speed, his horse all covered with sweat. Paleario believes he is bringing him news of death. His consciousness departs; he faints, his illness overcoming him.¹ His friend, tired with the journey, leaves him to pass a sleepless night. When day dawns he arises, and wearily drags himself to an upper chamber, where hangs his wife's portrait. There he falls at last into a perspiration, and sleeps. The next day there is found on his table a paper on which he has written a dirge, with trembling hand. It consists of six Latin lines, which may be read as follows:—

“If Christ, whom thou in life hast served full well,
My heart did not sustain, I could not live.
His promise firm that thou shalt rise again

¹ This, it appears, was in 1550. Paleario, having lost his wife at that time, after two years contracted a second marriage, by which he also had children.

Supports with loving power my fainting soul.
Do thou await till thine Aonius comes
In haste to join thee there, on heaven's own shore."

Paleario was in danger of condemnation as a heretic as early as 1543. He was induced by his pupils to apply for the headship of the school in Siena, on the expiration of the term of a representative of the old order, one Machus Blatero. The monks, to prevent his election, conspired to send a deputation to Francis Bandini, archbishop of Siena, accusing Paleario of heresy. The charge was based on his oral teachings and his book on the "Benefits of Christ," which already, it seems, had come to their notice. The archbishop disregarded his foes. The persecuted escaped, with a warning given him, in presence of the archbishop, by his friend James Sadolet, the cardinal legate. Paleario retired to Colle di Valdenza, but was there attacked by a monk, who by preaching strove to excite the citizens against him as a heretic. Deeply moved, he wrote within two days a defense in Latin, and sent a copy of it to his friend Peter Victorius, in Florence, to secure the help of duke Cosmo. He also gave his accuser a copy. His effort obtained from the monk a promise to be

^{His defense of} silent. The defense of Paleario, which is addressed to the his faith.

Siena council in the form of a charge of slander, contains very remarkable expressions. He says that there are those nowadays who cannot bear that Christ, the author and God of our salvation, Christ the king of the Gentiles and of all nations, should be loudly extolled! "For when this very year I wrote to this end in the Italian tongue, telling what benefits were secured to men through his death, it is framed into a criminal charge against me. Horrible! I had declared that when He, who is very God, had so lovingly poured forth his life's blood for our salvation, we should not have doubts of God's grace, but might assure ourselves of perfect peace and rest. I showed by the most ancient and trusty witnesses that we are saved from all evil, and that guilt is utterly blotted out in all who turn with whole heart to the crucified Christ, who believably commit themselves to his faithfulness, repose in his promises, and depend hopefully upon Him who cannot disappoint them. For this," he continues, "they would cast me into the flames. But if I am to suffer for this testimony,—for I hold it for a testimony, and not a mere literary production,—I count myself happy. For nowadays a Christian may hardly dare die in his bed. To be accused and imprisoned is nothing. We must give ourselves to be scourged, crucified, inclosed in nets, thrown to wild beasts, burned in the fire, if it be needed by such pangs to publish the truth. Save for the hope of a general council, where popes, princes, and emperors will unite in good and holy plans, and where all classes and nations will take a part, we would be forced to doubt whether the present distress would ever end, or whether the dagger drawn against every writer would ever be wrested from the hands that on the slightest pretext will plunge it into our hearts."

Paleario thought of a general council as a grand sacred tribunal, where, before the nations, Christ's cause and God's Word would appear against the errors and abuses of popery. He had even prepared for it in secret articles of indictment in the Latin, and intrusted these to faithful friends to send them to the "leaders of the Swiss and German churches," that they might use them before a free council, if he were dead. Throughout the composition is heard a tone of conscientious conviction,—yes, and of truth. Twenty witnesses are brought forward who hold by the Scriptures and oppose truth to falsehood. These twenty witnesses are heard at length in as many chapters, and their testimony confirmed. It is a probable conjecture that by means of Bernard Ochino, a native of Siena, Paleario established intercourse with the Swiss and South German theologians (1542). But his indictment found no employment, and was first in 1596, in Siena, taken from the dust in which it lay hid, and printed in 1606 at Leipzig. The letters which he frequently addressed to Swiss and German reformers appear to have remained unanswered. His work on the "Benefits of Christ" seems to have been first placed under suspicion by John Matthew Giberti, bishop of Verona, one who was regarded as a model bishop by Charles Borromæus, the famous archbishop of Milan, but who yet was so confirmed in his legal high church views as to hate like a deadly poison the pure apostolic truth of justification by faith alone. Like him in spirit was Michael Ghislieri, who became pope in 1566, under the name of Pius Fifth. By the latter the Inquisition was whetted, and Paleario hunted out after he had passed several years in rest and quiet. He was dragged before the court on account of his declarations in his defense of himself in 1543. His arrest.

A popish historian recites four grounds of accusation: (1.) He denied purgatory. (2.) He disapproved of interments in churches. (3.) He reviled the monks. (4.) He grounded justification wholly on faith in God's mercy in Christ.¹

From various scattered accounts we gather the following as to the martyr death of Paleario. He was arrested and brought to examination in Milan by the inquisitor-general Fra Angelo di Cremona, a Dominican. He was then, by order of Pius Fifth, taken to Rome (1568) and confined in the prison of Torre di Nona. In vain they attempted to make him recant. In one interview he at last indignantly cried: "Well, if your excellencies have so many stout witnesses against me, produce them and give me no more trouble. I am resolved to follow the Apostle Peter, who said, 'Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that ye should follow his steps: who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth: who, when He was reviled, reviled not again; when He suffered, He threatened not, but committed himself to Him that judgeth right.'

¹ In a compendium of the Inquisition, composed by Caracciolo, under Paul Fourth, and extant in manuscript, *The Benefits of Christ* is ascribed to a monk of San Severino, in Naples, a pupil of the renowned confessor Baldez. This must pass for a blunder.

ously.' Therefore judge and sentence Aonius! You will thus satisfy my calumniators and your own official obligations."

His death some have erroneously recorded as upon the 5th of October, 1568. He was in reality kept languishing in prison nearly two years, in the expectation that he would recant. He was at last put to death by strangling, on the 3d of July, 1570; his body was afterwards burned. A sure witness of this is a record of the Brothers of Mercy, discovered and printed in 1745, but not well understood till recently. As early as 1488, the Florentines in Rome (under Innocent Eighth) established a brotherhood under the patronage of John Baptist the Beheaded, to give help to condemned criminals. The evening before a condemned man's execution, these brethren go and stay all night with him, trying to lead him to a confession; they move him to make disposal of his property, strengthening him through the love of God to bear suffering and death with patience; placing before him the fearful sufferings and shameful death of the innocent Jesus Christ. They give him the crucifix to kiss, and go with him to the very last moment of life. These brethren of mercy came to Paleario the last night, and their loving service was gladly accepted by him. Respecting this they have recorded in the shape of a formal report as follows:—

"Monday, July 3, 1570. Our society was called to Tordinona prison in the night between Sunday and Monday, July 3, 1570, and there was given into our hands, after condemnation in the course of justice by the servants of the Holy Inquisition, Signor Aonius Palearius, of Veruli, resident of Colle di Valdenza, who made confession, and prayed God and his glorious mother the Virgin Mary and the court of heaven for forgiveness, and said he would die as a good Christian and believe all that the holy Roman church believed. He made no will, but gave us two letters he had written, which are copied below, praying that we send them to his widow and his sons at Colle di Valdenza."

To this report a literal copy of the letters is attached. Paleario was of course able, without unfaithfulness to his evangelic confession, to suffer the Brothers of Mercy to testify in their formal way that he would die as a good Christian, and believed what the true holy Roman church believed, of which Ambrose and Augustine were members. We must not withhold from our readers the two letters. From them it appears that by a second wife, named Marietta, he had two sons and a little daughter; and that his sons by his first marriage for eighteen years, or since his second marriage, had enjoyed their mother's estate. Of more importance, however, is the devout, peaceful spirit of trust, with which the old man of seventy joyously goes to death.

The first letter to his wife Marietta reads as follows:—

"**MY DEAREST WIFE**,—I would not that what well pleases me should ill please thee, and that what I deem good thou shouldst deem evil. The

hour is come when I am to go out of this life to my Lord, my Father, and my God. I go joyously, as to the wedding of the Son of the great King, even as I have ever prayed my Lord that He would vouchsafe me through his infinite goodness and condescension. Then, dearest companion, find comfort in the will of God and in my contentment. Take care of our affrighted little family, which I leave with you. Train and watch over them in the fear of God; be to them both father and mother. I am already past sixty years, and of little service. My sons must strive with all virtue and toil to attain to honorable lives. God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with your spirits. Thine husband, AONIUS PALEARIUS.

“ ROME, July 3, 1570.”

To the two grown-up sons of his first marriage he writes:—

“ LAMPRIDIUS AND PHÆDRUS, MY DEAREST SONS,— My most kind masters (the Brotherhood of St. John) who are unceasing in their goodness towards me, permit me to write to you also. It pleases God to call me in the way which you will hear, and which you will think bitter and severe. But if you consider it rightly, you will be content, since it comes to my entire satisfaction and approval, to submit in this to the will of God. I leave you, with the little property which you possess, virtue and industry as your patrimony. I leave you no debts. Many persons often make pretensions and are found in debt. Ye have been free more than eighteen years; ye are not bound for any debts of mine. Should any one claim anything, betake yourselves to his excellency the duke [of Medici, in Florence?], who will see justice done you. Require a statement of debts and credits from Luca Pridio. Ye have your mother’s dowry, and ye have your little sister to educate as God may give you grace therefor. Salute Aspasia and sister Aonilla, my daughters, greatly beloved in the Lord. My hour draws near. The Spirit of God support you and keep you in his grace. Your father, AONIUS PALEARIUS.

“ ROME, July 3, 1570.”

May our last end be as that of this righteous person.—H. C. S.

LIFE XVII. THOMAS CRANMER.

A. D. 1489—A. D. 1556. CLERICAL LEADER,—ENGLAND.

IN the year 1503 the English king, Henry the Eighth, wedded the princess Catherine of Aragon, daughter of the Spanish king Ferdinand and widow of his own brother Arthur. This marriage, entered into according to a “dispensation” of pope Julius Second, had endured eighteen years, when the king bestowed his fatal love upon the beautiful Anne

Boleyn, and began to have doubts about the lawfulness of his marriage with his brother's widow. Rome judged it dangerous to annul its own "dispensation," and imprudent to divorce Henry from one who was the aunt of the emperor, even though the king showered his gold upon the cardinals. Henry was in sore trouble. He wanted an adviser who could deliver him and help him to his object. He was told by two of his counselors, Fox and Gardiner, of one Cranmer, professor of theology in Cambridge, who could give him help if it were in any one's power. Henry decided upon following the suggestion. Thus it came about that Cranmer assumed a relation to his king by which he became the reformer of the English church, and at last a martyr for the gospel.

Thomas Cranmer was born July 2, 1489, at Aslacton, in the county of Nottingham. Losing his father in his boyhood, he was sent by his mother to Cambridge (1503), where he studied the full course ("trivium" and "quadrivium"), and became a Fellow in Jesus College. He interested himself in the new theology of Favre, of Paris (called also Faber and Lefevre), and of Erasmus. Upon the news of Luther's appearance in Germany, he turned to the study of the Holy Bible.

Scriptures. He soon after this married (1519), thus losing his fellowship, but was at once chosen "lector" in Buckingham College. Upon the death of his wife and of his infant child, he was again put in his place in Jesus College, and in 1523 made a doctor of theology. He refused a flattering call to be theological teacher in Oxford, and was directly chosen theological professor in Cambridge; he was also made university preacher and examiner. His ardent support of the authority of Scripture acquired for him, in the mouths of the scholastic doctors and the beggar monks, the nickname of "the Scripturist."

A plague sweeping over Cambridge (1528), Cranmer retired with two nephews, to whom he gave a home, to Waltham, in Essex County. There he was startled by a visit from the two counselors named above, asking his opinion on the subject of the royal divorce. Cranmer replied that first it must be settled whether the king's marriage was valid by the law of God. If not, no pope could make it valid by any "dispensation." Nor could they enter into tedious negotiations with the papacy to decide this question. Rather they should gather opinions from the most noted universities and other recognized courts of knowledge. If these supported the king's opinion, the pope could no longer oppose himself.

The king, when he heard the views of Cranmer, thought they made the way plain, and decided to follow them. Cranmer was asked to put them in writing. He was then commissioned (1530), along with Sir Thomas Boleyn, now the earl of Wiltshire, to go with other plenipotentiaries to Rome, to maintain the king's cause. Meanwhile, throughout all Europe opinions on the marriage were sought from the universities, the promi-

nent jurists and theologians, and the great cloisters. At Rome Cranmer was well received at the first, and made the pope's "penitentiary" for England. But he made no progress in his business, and so came home. The beginning of the next year he was intrusted with a mission upon the same matter to the theological leaders of the German Reformation, and to the court of the emperor. He was affected in his own career by this undertaking, for it brought him into personal intercourse with the German reformers, and attracted him to their ways of thinking. Besides, Cranmer in this way was introduced to a niece of Andrew Osiander, of Nürnberg, whom he married not long after. The pope proving obstinate, in spite of the many opinions sent to London on the side of the king, Henry slowly came round to the resolve that he would emancipate all England from Rome, and thus be independent of the pope in the matter at issue. Such a result was not to be effected by a single stroke. There began a succession of measures limiting the authority of the pope in the church of England. In the mean time, leaving his first marriage as it was, Henry secretly married Anne Boleyn (November 14, 1532).

Warham, the archbishop of Canterbury, dying (August 23, 1532), the king was at once resolved to give the place to none save ^{Is made arch-} Cranmer. The latter shrank from this mark of royal favor, ^{bishop.} for he foresaw that the position would plunge him into strife upon the duties owed to church and to state. At last he yielded to the prayers and arguments of the counselors of the king. The papal bulls required for his confirmation (costing nine hundred ducats) were obtained from Rome, and Cranmer was enthroned in the abbey of Westminster (May 30, 1533). Before taking his oath, he solemnly declared that he considered himself bound thereby to nothing that opposed his conscience, the prerogatives of the crown, or the laws of England. Some days before, Cranmer had declared null the king's marriage with Catherine of Aragon, and recognized as lawful his union with Anne Boleyn, publicly celebrated (without Cranmer's foreknowledge) on the 12th of April. On the 1st of June Cranmer, by the king's command, crowned Anne as queen. Immediately the pope declared Henry's divorce from Catherine and his marriage with Anne to be null, and proclaimed his excommunication. By this the king's long-considered resolve was ripened. He abolished (June 9th) the authority of the pope in England, and ^{England freed} by the act of supremacy (November 3, 1534) proclaimed ^{from the pope.} himself sole earthly head of the English church. Cranmer at the same time renounced his place as legate, and with the king's consent named himself primate of England. Henry had now attained his desire. England had a Catholic orthodox church wholly independent of Rome. To accomplish anything further, to reform the church according to the Scriptures, was not in Henry's mind. But when connection with Rome was at an end, English Catholicism was paralyzed. The king was forced,

in order to confirm his authority, to take steps which he never intended. He named as his vicar in the church Thomas Cromwell. But the soul of the profound movement which went forward in the English church was Cranmer. Yet the gifts of a reformer were certainly wanting in him at that period. He rested everything in church and in religion, in his own belief and conduct, first upon the royal authority, second upon the Holy Scriptures. But only thus was it possible for him, as things then were, to advance the reformation of the church at all. The obstacles created by the heresy-hating king and the novelty-abhorring clergy were hard to be overcome. Cranmer found this, to his grief, when he tried to introduce Tyndale's translation of the New Testament into England. He failed because the bishops opposed the spread of the Scriptures in the language of the people. One thing that he could do was to fill the vacant livings with clergy in favor of reform. Cranmer hoped, with their aid and with queen Anne, who was decidedly reformed in her way of thinking, as his friend with the king, that he might soon inaugurate many a reform. Alas, the hope quickly vanished. The king grew tired of the wife he had so ardently cherished. He accused her of adultery, and Cranmer, though convinced of her innocence, could affirm it in only an under-tone. The head of the unfortunate one fell under the axe of the executioner (May 19, 1536), and the next day the king wedded Jane Seymour, — also, happily, a friend of reformation. Something was yet possible. The smaller cloisters in England were abolished in 1536 (and in 1537 the larger, throwing their immense properties into the hands of the king). The same year a synod met (June 16th) under the presidency of Cromwell. A creed in ten articles was published by it, containing, besides many popish conceits, a number of evangelical ideas. Cranmer would, in the interests of the gospel, have had many another thing inserted. But the articles as they were went too far for the king, and were published only after several modifications. To the joy of Cranmer, it was granted that Tyndale's English Bible, recently brought to completion on the Continent, should be freely circulated. This first advance in the way of evangelic reform was effected by a compromise which excited at once great trouble. The extreme Romanists saw in the ten articles a wound to pure church doctrine. Armed mobs rose to defend the faith, and had to be put down by the sword. For others, the ten articles were by no means sufficiently anti-Roman. So it actually came to pass that the king, making his own will the law of the church, sent to the scaffold, by turns, those who confessed the gospel and those who stood by the pope. Queen Jane dying (October 24, 1537), Cranmer, in the very beginning of his decidedly reforming efforts, saw the realization of his hopes and plans removed far into the future. By the king's prohibiting (November, 1538) the marriage of priests, he was obliged to send his wife back to Germany. He was also

The Bible toler-
ated.

compelled to break off his conferences with the Saxon theologians who had come, by his invitation, to London. The next year he beheld the Parliament, by the king's order, replacing the ten articles by six new articles, known as "The Articles of Blood." These established transubstantiation and the withholding of the cup, priestly celibacy and the absolute obligation of monastic vows, the retention of masses for souls and auricular confession. To dispute transubstantiation, or to hesitate in accepting the celibacy of the clergy, was a capital offense. The king's Catholic confidants, the duke of Norfolk and the false, spiteful, yet wary bishop Gardiner, exulted in their obliging Cromwell, who had led the king into his repugnant marriage with Anne of Cleves, to ascend the scaffold. They hoped soon to bring Cranmer to the same fate. But he, with utmost frankness, went on in his evangelic labors, and yet kept the royal confidence. Before a commission, formed by the king at his suggestion, to undertake a further revision of the church's doctrine, he expressed opinions which evinced his advance in Christian ^{Cranmer's reformed views.} knowledge. "The only proper sacraments are baptism and the Lord's Supper. Rulers are to take care of religious as well as of civil affairs, and to exercise spiritual as well as secular power. Clerical consecration is expedient, but is not necessary, since it imparts no spiritual gifts. Auricular confession and extreme unction should be abolished."

The Catholic influences around the unprincipled, dissolute despot grew stronger when he married (August, 1540) Catherine Howard, niece of the duke of Norfolk. But few months, however, had passed, when Cranmer was obliged to disclose to the king the former immoralities of his wife, and to dissolve the marriage. The king then entered upon his sixth marriage, taking for his wife the Protestant Catherine Parr (July 7, 1543). Cranmer and his friends hoped for a more quiet and happy time of church reform. But the king's Catholic advisers, with the utmost rage and malice, opposed every evangelic tendency. They tried, first of all, to put out of the way Cranmer, the mortally hated upholder of church reform. Their attacks found an insurmountable obstacle in Henry's confidence in Cranmer. Induced at one time to issue a warrant of arrest against the archbishop for heresy, the king experienced the bitterest remorse over the order, and revoked it. Cranmer's imprisonment did not come to pass, but there came a complete arrest of his reforming movement. The king would hear no more about it. The circulation of the Bible in English, authorized a second time in 1542, was confined in 1543 to the nobility. In 1546 Bible reading was severely prohibited, and all heresy made punishable by death. Terror and disorder ruled in the kingdom when Henry the Eighth died (January 28, 1547).

Once more the friends of reform took breath, relieved of the tyrant. Cranmer, for the first time, found an opening for genuine reformation.

The young king Edward, nine years of age, was intrusted to his training. The regency, headed by the duke of Somerset, was by a majority of its sixteen members inclined to reform. But as before, so now, Cranmer builded his work on the foundation of the royal authority. He not only had the gift of his own office renewed to him by the king, but reminded Edward at his coronation (February 20, 1547) that he was called of God to rule his church, even as was Josiah. To quicken church reform Cranmer provided for a careful visitation of the entire kingdom, which he divided for this purpose into six districts. In this visitation the doctrine of the royal headship of the church was proclaimed as the corner-stone of the English Reformation. In company with several evangelical bishops, especially Ridley and Latimer, Cranmer published (July, 1547) a collection of gospel sermons, known as the "Book of Homilies." He provided for the translation into English of the paraphrase of the New Testament by Erasmus. He secured the abolition of the six articles by Parliament (on November 4, 1547). The cup in the communion was restored, while the mass and other Catholic customs were put away. The following year he secured the translation of the Nürnberg Catechism into English, with hardly an alteration. In accordance with a motion of

Prepares the his in Parliament the same year, the first draft of the new Prayer Book. liturgy, the Book of Common Prayer, was completed by Cranmer and others of the bishops and theologians, aided by the old English liturgies of Bangor, Herford, Lincoln, York, Salisbury (old Sarum), and the reformed order (1543) of the elector Hermann of Cologne. The work was approved by Parliament in January, 1549. All this showed how Cranmer had grown in course of years, and had become decidedly evangelical. His faith was all the while approaching the pattern of the reformed confession. For this reason he secured calls to England for several reformed theologians from the Continent. Bucer and Paul Fagius were called to Cambridge from Strassburg (1549); Peter Martyr Vermigli to Oxford from Florence; John Laski took a German congregation in the same city; Bernardino Ochino an Italian church in London. Besides these, there came to England Tremellius, the Scotch Alexander Alesius, and others. Cranmer secured the offer, through Ochino, of a professorship to the noted theologian Musculus, without success. He further maintained a spirited correspondence with many other prominent theologians of the reformed church, as, for example, with Bullinger.

Supported by fellowship with so many of the pillars of the church of that age, Cranmer rose to the glad thought of securing such a constitution for the evangelical church of England as would testify the oneness in faith of the evangelical everywhere. He entered into a lively exchange of views upon this with the theological leaders of Germany and Switzerland, proposing London as the place for their meeting to estab-

lish such a confession. Cranmer's idea was most cordially received by Melanethon and Calvin. But soon it proved to be impracticable. Cranmer let it go in order to perfect an evangelic confession for the English church by itself. He had already, as a result of his conferences with German theologians, put together thirteen articles (corresponding to the first seventeen of the Augsburg Confession). With this groundwork, a confession of forty articles was prepared under Cranmer's auspices, laid before convocation (May, 1552), and approved by the king (not by Parliament). At the same time Cranmer undertook a revision of the Book of Common Prayer, with help from Bucer and Peter Martyr (by which extreme unction, auricular confession, prayers for the dead, and the like were eradicated). The liturgy in its new form was approved by convocation and published by act of Parliament (1552).

Prepares the forty articles.

All this was done quickly and with no great difficulty. The external organization of the new evangelical church was essentially complete. But its future, which depended in part on laws not yet enacted, was in doubt as long as the papal party remained influential. The latter was for the time kept down, but how very little it had lost in boldness and confidence was shown by the conduct of bishop Gardiner. Cast into prison on account of his opposition to the new order of worship (1549), he thence attacked openly in a fierce pamphlet the view held by Cranmer upon the Supper. The archbishop was obliged to justify his belief by an equally public reply. The papal party was further favored in the overthrow of protector Somerset, who favored the Protestants. Besides, the people of England knew and cared all too little about the church's reformation. This defect Cranmer sought to cure by sending out travelling preachers to traverse the land and enlighten the people on the unscripturalness of the papal church and the true nature of the Reformation. He further secured the appointment by the king of a commission to prepare rules for the church. With Cranmer as its president, the work was completed February, 1553, but before it was published or ratified king Edward died (July 6, 1553, in his sixteenth year).

Mary was now queen, the Catholic daughter of Catherine of Aragon. The heart of the young queen, who was to be known as "Bloody Mary," glowed with one thought,—to lay England at the feet of the pope, having exterminated Protestantism. When she had wedded Philip Second of Spain, and received cardinal Pole as papal legate, it seemed that the Reformation in England might soon be brought to an end by the stake and the scaffold. There perished more than three hundred martyrs, and among them Thomas Cranmer.

Directly after Mary's accession he was counseled by his friends to save himself by flight. Knowing what good reason there was for their anxiety, he thought he was on that very account bound to stay. He

was aware that the queen hated him, not only as a heretic, but because he had forwarded the divorce of Henry from her mother. He was not surprised, therefore, when he found himself before the Arrested by "Bloody Mary." Star-Chamber (September 14, 1553), and then in London Tower. He cleared himself of the charge of high treason, especially, by a protest addressed to Mary. He was, however, under indictment for heresy, and was kept in prison, confined in the same cell with his most cherished friends, bishops Ridley and Latimer. The Tower was overflowing with prisoners. The three comforted one another by prayer and the Scriptures. Cranmer was soon called before convocation, and was so roughly handled there as to agitate even his enemies. It was thought prudent to remove him and his friends to Oxford, where his trial proceeded in Mary's Church (April 14th). The bishop, now old, entered with staff in hand, full of dignity and majesty. The papal doctrine of the Lord's Supper was presented him, and his subscription to it demanded. He returned a decided refusal, and the next day (Sunday) presented a refutation of the doctrine. On Monday he appeared to defend his answer. With rude and scornful laughter his judges and their dependents listened to the old man's discourse. He continued his address, part in Latin, part in English, with dignified composure to its close. The annoyances proceeded through the days following. Cranmer was once and again led before his judges, and along with Ridley and Latimer asked to subscribe the articles presented. When they had most earnestly refused, they were kept in stricter confinement. They languished there for eighteen months. Evidently Cranmer's foes were for a time undecided what to do with him. Finally they agreed that the judgment against this father of all heresy in England must be left to the pope. In September, 1555, Latimer and Ridley first, and then Cranmer, to their exceeding surprise found themselves before a commission which was furnished with full powers from both pope and queen, and were put upon their second trial. Cranmer presented his protest against this proceeding first to the commission, then in writing to the queen. The pope, the enemy of the gospel, could have no jurisdiction over him. The report of the trial was sent to Rome, and a bull came back after New Year's pronouncing Cranmer's degradation and excommunication. The sentence was carried out (February 14, 1556). Solemnly, yet amid scorn and reproach, his official robes and insignia were first put upon him, and then taken away. The excommunication was then declared, to which he replied by appealing to the next general council.

The queen's order, obtained in secret, for the death of Cranmer by fire was already prepared. But before its execution the malice of his foes purposed his humiliation by enticing him to abjure. To effect this, they showed him all possible kindnesses, removing him from jail to imprisonment in a private residence, and surrounding him with every com-

fort. They thus brought it about that the old man of sixty-seven, wearied by his long imprisonment, signed a form of recantation, ^{His recantation.} in which he abjured, as erroneous, the doctrines of the Reformation. Scarce had he subscribed this when the command was given to commit him to the fire. First, however, he was to repeat his recantation publicly.

For this end he was led into Mary's Church (March 21, 1556), and placed on a stage there prepared. In sight of the crowd assembled, the bowed old man, bareheaded, fell upon his knees, and weeping bitterly clasped his hands in prayer. After a sermon which showed the people why such a heretic should die, he was asked to repeat publicly his profession of his faith. "I will do so heartily," said the old man. First uttering a touching prayer, asking God for sake of Christ's death to forgive his many sins, he rose, and with loud, strong voice, to the utter astonishment of all, retracted everything that he had with evil conscience said against the gospel truth, out of a fear of death. For this should that right hand of his with which he had committed the sin burn the first in the fire. For the pope was antichrist, and his doctrine, empty lies. Especially so was the teaching respecting the mass, as he himself in recent years had openly shown. Cranmer would have said more, but he was interrupted and led away to the stake. Two monks attended him, trying to move him to retract what he had just said. Calmly refusing, he mounted the scaffold and gave himself to be bound to the stake. When he saw the first flame darting up, he stretched his right hand into it, crying, "This hand has sinned,—this wicked right hand!" He stood in motionless silence gazing upward. When the flames ^{His tragic end.} seized him, he was heard to say, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." Then his form was hid by the flame and ascending smoke.

Cranmer was a man of unusual gifts. Courteous, benevolent, and loving, he unlocked every heart and won it. He was a counselor and father of the afflicted and poor. His heart and hand were open. His hospitality was unbounded. Ministers and scholars from abroad were especially made at home in his house at Lambeth. His most conspicuous trait, which showed the genuine nobility of his spirit, was his magnanimity. It was a proverb in England that a man must do Cranmer an injury in order to obtain his favor. He ever distinguished himself as a Christian by his conscientious creed and life. As soon as he saw error in a papal doctrine he renounced it. He also strove to cast error out of the church. He was led on by the fervor of his spirit to become a reformer. At the beginning of his activity he was not separated in his doctrine from the papacy. His mind was yet darkened by many a popish error. But to the upright there ariseth light in the darkness. He grew more and more in gospel knowledge, and at last found in the one thing needful the corner-stone of his faith and life. Thence he advanced, with earnest,

noble spirit, till he became the strong evangelical Christian and the reformer of England, whom God honored at the end of life with the martyr's crown.—H. H.

LIFE XVIII. NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

A. D. 1500?—A. D. 1555. CLERICAL LEADER,—ENGLAND.

THERE were leaders in the English Reformation older and abler than Nicholas Ridley, more brilliant and influential than was he; but there was not any who surpassed him in purity and sincerity, or whose truth and faithfulness shone more brightly than did his, even to his martyr death. Ridley was born in Northumberland about the year 1500. He acquired the rudiments of a liberal education at Newcastle-on-Tyne. He then went to Cambridge University, forming a love for her which lasted his life long. He grew in mind and heart so gently and continually that no period can be assigned for his spiritual awakening. He was ever an able, virtuous, zealous champion of truth, as the truth dawned gradually upon his mind. When a student, taking his pleasure walks in the garden of Pembroke College, he learned by heart first Paul's epistles, then the whole New Testament, in the original Greek. When confronting death he took joy from this, saying that it had been to his advantage his life through, and if a goodly part had vanished from his recollection, he still trusted he should carry its fragrance with him up to heaven. Completing his studies, he went traveling to the universities of Paris and Louvain. In 1529 he came again to Cambridge. His scholarship and character gave him promotions to various university honors and offices. He was chaplain (1533), proctor (overseeing the discipline of the students), and then public lector. He was a fellow also, and in 1540 was made president of Pembroke College and doctor of theology. Nor did he confine himself to his books or his college exclusively. When the religious corporations of England, and especially the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, had submitted to them (1534) the question of the marriage of Henry Eighth (decided against him by pope Clement Seventh) and were asked whether the pope was given by Holy Scripture a jurisdiction in

Early opposes the pope. England above any other foreign bishop, Ridley, at Cambridge, especially interested himself in the answer, hoping for the emancipation of the English church from the papal supremacy. This, it seems, made him better known to Thomas Cranmer, then archbishop. He was called by the latter to his side, and given the parish of Herne, in Kent, a few miles from Canterbury, that he might be kept near by. Here he preached with zealous and evangelic spirit, yet holding fast by the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation. Thus far Ridley was at one

with his king in his throwing off the papal supremacy and making himself the head of the church in England; in his circulating the Bible in the common tongue, and still holding fast by the Romish mass. But when Henry enacted "the bloody statutes" (or six articles of July 28, 1539), enforcing by severe penalties transubstantiation, the withholding of the cup, private masses, auricular confession, and celibacy, Ridley openly and emphatically condemned the measure. Still, neither he nor Cranmer lost the king's regard. Ridley, happily for his keeping the royal favor, was not married, and was a believer still in transubstantiation. He was now Cranmer's chaplain and a canon of Canterbury Cathedral. His intercourse with Cranmer, his study of the controversy of Ratramnus against Radbert on transubstantiation, and his constant Bible study soon led him to reject this papal doctrine (1540). And so he was never given even the slightest promotion so long as Henry the Eighth was on the throne.

Things changed after Henry's death (January 28, 1547) and Edward's accession. Ridley became one of the leaders of the reformed church government. He owed this to Cranmer, who, during Edward's minority, was a member of the regency of the duke of Somerset, the king's uncle. Soon after Edward's coronation (February 20, 1547), Ridley was made by him his chaplain; also in the same year he was named bishop of Rochester, near London, and before three years was raised to be bishop of London (April 1, 1550). In this high office, side by side with Cranmer, he took part in the most important measures ^{His great work.} of the English Reformation. He made it his first and holiest duty to declare the gospel to his congregation. He was in the habit of preaching, in one place or another, every Sunday and holy-day. As he went his rounds, the people thronged to hear him. His work in Rochester, though brief, was blessed in its results. The religion of the gospel was advanced. As bishop of London, taking the place of Bonner, a most resolute opponent of reformation, he made it his especial care to provide his parishes with devout evangelic pastors. One of the first whom he ordained was John Fox, the renowned author of the "Book of Martyrs." But still more important than his work in his diocese was his influence on the constitution of the church of England.

Of the writings upon which the church of England rests to-day,—the Prayer Book, the Homilies, the Thirty-Nine Articles, and the Catechism,—the first two were prepared with Ridley's help, and the articles (the Forty-Two Articles of 1552) not without his counsel. The twelve homilies (of the Book of Homilies, 1547) it is found were composed by Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley. The first draft of the Book of Common Prayer was made by a commission with Ridley as a leading member. He thus legislated for the order of worship of the English church, and helped lay a foundation which endures in its larger part until to-day.

This man, so full of spirit and power, ought to be better known in

his own proper person. Ridley was of well-proportioned frame, winsome countenance, warm heart, of manners friendly and pleasant life. He would not hurt or take advantage of an opponent, much less seek revenge on him. Remaining unmarried throughout life, he was always strict and self-denying, very diligent in prayer and meditation. He was in the habit every morning, as soon as dressed, of spending a half hour upon his knees. Then he went to his study. Afterwards he held family prayers, as was his daily custom. When at Fulham, his country place near London, he would read at worship a part of the Testament, putting a copy of the book into the hands of every one who could read it. He often read the one hundred and first Psalm to his domestics. Over the latter he maintained a strict oversight. Himself devout and upright, he secured virtue and godliness in his household. After prayers he went to dinner. He was temperate and even abstemious. Yet with all prudence and wisdom he was very cheerful. After dinner he passed a short hour in conversation or a game of chess. Then he returned to his study, and there stayed, unless he had to receive visitors or attend to outside matters, until five o'clock. He then had worship, as in the morning. Afterwards he took supper, and after an hour's recreation returned to work. At eleven he regularly retired, after spending a while on his knees, as in the morning. When at Fulham, he sent before dinner and supper to an adjoining house, with the message, "Go for my mother Bonner." This old lady was the mother of Ridley's popish predecessor, Edmund Bonner, now deposed and in prison. When Lady Bonner appeared she was as respectfully and kindly received as if she were Ridley's own mother, and was given a seat at the upper end of the table. Ridley acted out of his great goodness and hearty sympathy. He would have the old lady feel the want of nothing. But his good deeds were evil requited, for when, after Mary's accession, Ridley was deposed and Bonner restored, the latter drove Ridley's sister and her husband, George Shipside, off the farm which they held on the estates of the bishopric.

Ridley had to do with Mary Tudor before she became queen. When the emperor Charles Fifth asked of Edward Sixth that the princess Mary, his cousin, should be allowed to hold mass in her house, Ridley along with Cranmer seconded the request. Later he attempted to move Mary to hear evangelic preaching, but without success. After Edward's death (July 6, 1553) the attempt was made by the English nobility to raise Lady Jane Grey to the throne. On the first Sunday after her coronation, bishop Ridley, by command of the privy council, delivered a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, in the church-yard of St. Paul's Cathedral. In it he bade the people rejoice that they had a Protestant queen, and to stand by her. If the princess Mary attained the throne, she would subject the land to a foreign power, would abolish the evangelical faith now

happily established, and destroy all that had been builded with so much pains by her brother. He even went so far as to say of the princess that, when in virtue of his office as the bishop of the princess he strove to lead her to the evangelic faith, though she was gracious enough in other things, she proved obstinate and stiff-necked in the matter of religion. Ridley's discourse will hardly be named by any one a politic utterance. That he appeared at all for Lady Jane Grey, whose enthronement violated Mary's hereditary claim, was manifestly a blunder. And Ridley soon had cause to repent it, when, after a few days, by the prevailing sentiment of the people of England, Mary was made queen. Ridley repaired to her residence, Framingham Castle, in Suffolk, to pay his respects. He was received coldly and ungraciously, arrested on the spot, deprived of his offices, set upon a limping nag, and carried back a prisoner to the London Tower. His popish predecessor, Edmund Bonner, was at once restored as bishop of London. Still no charges of political kind, but only such as had a bearing on religion, were brought up against Ridley. He was imprisoned three years and some months. From the end of July, 1553, to the middle of March, 1554, he lay in the Tower.

Ridley and "Bloody Mary."

An order came at last (March, 1554) to convey the three evangelical bishops, Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, from the Tower to Windsor. Shortly after (April) they were taken to Oxford, there to meet the doctors of the papal party. At first they were thrown into the common jail, the Bocardo; after a few days they were separated, and Ridley was kept a prisoner in the house of the mayor of the city, one Irish. He was worse off than his two friends, because, as he tells us in a letter, the woman of the house which was his prison was the ruler of the man, even if he was mayor of the city. And this woman was a superstitious old lady, who hoped to win herself especial consideration by keeping Ridley in very strict custody.

The first hearing came April 14th, in the church of the university,—Mary's Church. The commissioners, thirty-three in number, were present. After Cranmer had first been interrogated, Dr. Ridley was brought forward. The same three questions were asked of him as of the archbishop: (1.) Is not Christ's human body present in the sacrament of the altar, by virtue of the word pronounced by the priest? (2.) Does any substance remain after the consecration except Christ's body and blood? (3.) Is not the mass a propitiatory sacrifice, both for the living and the dead? It was simply the doctrine of the mass, including the idea of transubstantiation with that of sacrifice. Ridley replied, as soon as the articles had been read, that they were wholly false and the fruit of a bitter root. His replies were keen and scholarly. Upon his denial of the Romish mass he was invited, along with his associates, to a discussion. He accepted the challenge, as did Cranmer; the

Ridley's defense.

latter maintained the debate. Afterwards came the turn of Ridley (April 17th), and he was led into Divinity Hall. The chief opponent was a certain Richard Smith, supported by thirteen other doctors and masters. Ridley was given two secretaries, of whom one was John Jewel, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, under queen Elizabeth. His notes give us an original source of information respecting this discussion.

Taking the first question named above, Ridley attacked with extraordinary severity the Romish doctrine of the presence of Christ's body and blood in the Supper as unscriptural, as opposed to the most ancient fathers, and in every way helpful to superstition. He expressed his own conviction that the Sacrament was not a mere sign of Christ's body, but was the communion of that body. In so far it became the gift of the body of Christ to the believing communicant. In a word, he confessed the Calvinistic doctrine of the Lord's Supper. In defense of the same he displayed remarkable acquaintance with the writings of the fathers.

The second theory, that of transubstantiation, he opposed with surpassing logic, and showed from the fathers that real bread remained in the Supper even after the consecration. Hardly allowed to present and support his belief without interruption, he closed, saying that he appealed from the unrighteous judgment recently pronounced (in regard to his deposition) to a court competent to decide according to the church government of England. Further, he declared, "Though this appeal be not allowed on earth, I take my refuge in the decision of the Eternal Judge, the Almighty God, to whose compassionate righteousness I commit wholly myself and mine affairs, not doubting in the least of the support of my advocate and only Redeemer Jesus Christ, to whom, with the Eternal Father and the Holy Spirit, be honor and glory now and forever. Amen." When this declaration of his position was finished, the debate proper went on, at very great length and with exceeding vivacity. Ridley declared that in all his life he had never seen nor heard so vain and disorderly a transaction as this one. He had not thought it possible that among men whom England deemed well informed and scholarly, individuals could be found so insolent and devoid of shame, so turbulent and trifling. When the end came, the president invited his associates to raise the triumphal cry of "Vicit veritas!" as if a noble victory had been won. It was done.

Some days after (April 20th) the commission held in Mary's Church a further sitting. The three bishops were brought forward separately, and asked to acknowledge that they had been vanquished in the public debate, and to declare whether they would not recant. Ridley returned ^{Ridley excom-} the short, conclusive answer that he stood by what he had _{unicated.} said. All three were called up together; the sentence was read to them, which declared them heretics and excommunicated them. After Cranmer had spoken, Ridley declared, "Though I belong no more

to your society, I doubt not that my name is written in another place, to which this sentence will send us somewhat sooner than we would be sent by the common course of nature." Then each was taken back to his prison. By the usages of the Middle Ages, such a sentence did not have to wait long for its execution. The condemned needed simply to be given over by his judges to the civil power. At the time named the law of England was not yet restored to its ancient popish pattern. This was accomplished, however, by November, 1554, with the help of Parliament. Then the flood-gates of persecution were opened. The year 1555 gave the queen, for the first, her name of "Bloody Mary." So Ridley and his fellow-witnesses had to stay in prison a year and a half more, in certain prospect of a martyr death. This time was employed by Ridley in part to expose the injustice of the proceeding against him, and to obtain its revision, in part to comfort and strengthen his friends and fellow-believers. His letters from his prison, written the most of them in Latin, testify the unshaken grasp of his faith, his joyous hope, and his heart-felt love to his brethren.

Directly upon the pope's regaining his supremacy in the English church, he named Reginald Pole his legate in England. The latter authorized three bishops — White of Lincoln, Brookes of Gloucester, and Holyman of Bristol — to conclude the proceeding against Ridley and Latimer, either by securing their recantation, or by giving them over to the civil power as stubborn heretics. Hence Ridley was brought, September 30, 1555, into the University Divinity School. The three bishops were present. A notary proceeded to read their commission. Ridley at first stood with bared head. When he heard the cardinal's name, and the pope's, as giving authority to his judges, he put on his hat, and stood covered. The bishop of Lincoln charged him with lacking in respect to the empowering parties. Ridley answered openly that he had all respect for his judges and the cardinal personally, but the assumed supremacy of the pope and all the authority of Pole as papal legate he rejected. In order, not with words only, but with deeds, to testify against this unscriptural power, he had put his hat upon his head. The hat of Ridley was then, by the bishop's command, taken off by a university beadle. The bishop now admonished him that he recant and return into the bosom of the Roman church. Ridley answered at length that he would not, for, though the church of Rome had been the mother of other churches, she was not the head of other churches. There followed an extended discussion on the nature of the church and the authority of the church of Rome. Five articles were read, embodying the errors imputed to Ridley on the question of the mass. They would hear his reply. He gave it clearly and conclusively, according to the minutes. They then dismissed him, telling him to put his views into writing. On the morrow (October 1st) he was brought to the commissioners in Mary's

Church, in presence of the university and the citizens. Ridley insisted on his views of the day before, and contented himself with giving his written answers to the questions propounded. White, bishop of Lincoln, then addressed him, advising that he trust not to his own understanding, but submit to authority. Ridley asserted that he nowise trusted to his understanding, but was thoroughly convinced that the faith which he maintained rested on God's Word. They should allow him to show why he could not accept the pope's authority. The bishop of Lincoln replied that as Ridley asked leave to speak three words he should be allowed to speak forty. Ridley began to speak, but had hardly uttered half a period when one of the bishops cried, "The number is complete," and imposed upon him silence. The bishop of Lincoln said, "I see clearly, Master Ridley, you will frustrate that part of our undertaking which we cherished. God is my witness that I grieve concerning you." Ridley replied, "That I believe, my lord, for this will one day weigh heavy on your souls." "Not that," the bishop said, "but I grieve to see you so ^{Sentenced to} stiff-necked. But since it is so, we must proceed to the die. other part of our errand. Listen." Then he read the sentence, by which Ridley was declared a heretic, deposed from his episcopal dignity and all ecclesiastical position, excommunicated, and given over to the civil power to receive the appointed punishment.

Ridley was taken back to prison. Now he saw clearly what had been before his soul for two years. He employed the respite given him to send his last farewells and admonitions to his friends and fellow-believers. At this time he doubtless composed that royal letter which gives us many of our facts, since it is a kind of autobiography. It begins, "When a man has a long journey before him, and must part from his trusted friends, he wishes naturally, before setting out, to say to those friends farewell. And so I desire, who am expecting daily to be summoned from you, ye brothers and sisters, heartily beloved in the Lord, to say to you all, as I am able, farewell." First to his relatives he bids farewell. He sends thanks, comfort, admonition, warning, to all, according to their circumstances. Then he sends parting to his countrymen, exhorting them to fidelity to the gospel and heroic conflict for the truth. In a subsequent part he bids farewell to Cambridge University, his first parish of Herne in Kent, to Canterbury Cathedral, to his bishopric of Rochester and of London. Terrible comes his address to London, "the godless and bloody place" (under bishop Bonner). Instead of farewell, it turns to a prophetic woe! Yet all the more kindly and comfortably does he speak to the "souls mourning in secret" in the capital, and to the valiant, God-fearing citizens, mayors, and aldermen, some of whom he mentions with grateful commemoration. In closing he remembers his place as one of the House of Peers, and addressing the secular lords holds them answerable for the favor shown to Rome, and for their "anti-

christian" laws, presenting to them the account which they will certainly have to render before the Eternal Judge. No less touching is a second farewell letter, addressed to all those "who for sake of Christ's gospel are in prison or in exile," — a writing full of heart, heroic and joyous in the face of death for the name of Christ.

Fourteen days after the sentence, on October 15th, appeared Dr. Brookes, bishop of Gloucester, then commissioner, with the vice-chancellor of Oxford and other heads of the university, at the house of the city mayor, Irish, where Dr. Ridley was in prison. The commissioner proffered him pardon in the queen's name, in case he would recant. Ridley rejected the idea quickly and finally. Brookes then proceeded to deprive him of his priestly office, for he had already been deposed from his place as bishop. When Ridley persistently refused to put on the surplice and other garments pertaining to the mass, these were put upon him by others. As one article after another was then taken away, a response was uttered by him. For example, when a book, given to him, had been taken away, with the words, "We take from thee the office of preaching the gospel," he answered, with a deep sigh and a look upward, "O Lord God, forgive them this wickedness." When the ceremony was at an end, and Dr. Brookes would not suffer him to speak, Ridley said, "What is left to me then save patience, when ye will not hear me? I commit my cause to my heavenly Father; He will amend what is wrong when it seems good to Him." Dr. Brookes undertook to present to the queen Ridley's petitions interceding for certain tenants of farms belonging to the bishopric of London, with whom he had made contracts, among them his own brother-in-law. Dr. Brookes then called the officers of the law, and committed Ridley to them, with the command to let him talk to no one, and to lead him to the place of execution according to their instructions. Ridley exclaimed, "God, I thank Thee, and to thy praise declare that none of ye all can accuse me of a fault." Brookes rejoined that he played the proud Pharisee and exalted himself. Ridley said, "No, no, no! I confess I am a poor, miserable sinner, who needs God's help and pity, and daily ask and implore the same. I pray ye, ascribe no such meaning to me." Then his adversaries went away from him.

He was to suffer that horrible fate, death by fire, on the morrow. Yet he looked forward to it not only patiently, but joyously. At supper he was in as cheerful a frame as in all his life. He gave an invitation to his hostess, Mistress Irish, and all the rest at the table, to come "to his wedding" on the morrow. When he rose from table, his brother-in-law asked to watch with him through the night. Ridley replied, "No, no, that you shall not; for I am minded to go to bed, and, if God will, to sleep as quietly as ever in my life." On October 16, 1555, Latimer and Ridley die. Ridley and Latimer were led to the appointed place. It was in the north part of Oxford, in the city moat, opposite Balliol College.

Ridley walked between the mayor of the city and one of the aldermen. When he came near the Bocardo prison, he looked up to the windows where Cranmer was kept, but could get no glimpse of him. Turning back he saw his friend Latimer, who was led some distance behind him. Ridley called to him, "Oh, be ye there?" Latimer answered, "Yea, have after, as fast as I can." As soon as Ridley reached the place, he lifted his hands with earnest gesture, looking up to heaven. And when Latimer came up he ran to him in a wondrously glad way, embracing and kissing him, saying, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it." He then went to the stake, and, kneeling down, kissed it, and prayed fervently, as did Latimer. Then they arose, and conversed a moment together. According to custom, the burning was preceded by a sermon. This was preached by the same Dr. Smith who had disputed with Ridley April 14, 1554. His text was, "Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." The sermon, short as it was, was full of abuse of the two as heretics, and of exhortations to them to recant. At every such passage they raised their eyes and hands towards heaven, as if to call God to be their witness. When the sermon was done, Ridley and Latimer, kneeling, begged Lord Williams and the commissioners for leave to say a few words. This they refused, except upon condition that the former should recant. "Well," said Ridley, "so long as the breath is in my body I will never deny my Lord Christ and his known truth. God's will be done in me." With that he rose, and said with a loud voice, "I commit our cause to Almighty God, who shall indifferently judge all!" They were commanded at once to make ready. Ridley gave his gown and tippet to his brother-in-law, Shipside. Some other of his apparel he gave to the by-standers. Whoever could get a button or a shred of his garments thought himself happy. As soon as he was stripped to his shirt he stepped upon a stone near the pillar, lifted up his hands, and prayed: "O heavenly Father, I give unto Thee most hearty thanks that Thou hast called me to be thy confessor, even unto death. I beseech thee, Lord God, have mercy on this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies." Ridley was then chained along with Latimer to the post. His brother-in-law, Shipside, came up with a little sack, which he wished to tie round his neck. Ridley asked what it was. When told it was gunpowder, he said, "I take it as sent from God, but if thou hast any more bring it to my brother Latimer, and betimes, lest you be too late." While he brought it, Ridley begged Lord Williams to intercede for his brother-in-law and other tenants of the farms of his bishopric, testifying that there was naught else in the world that Latimer's grand troubled him. Thus his soul to the last breath was occupied with the weal of others. Then as one brought a lighted fagot and laid it at Ridley's feet, Latimer cried out, "Be of good

comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man! We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust never shall be put out." When Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried out with an amazing loud voice, "In manus tuas, Domine, commendō spiritum meum: Domine, recipe spiritum meum." The last words he repeated several times in English: "Lord, receive my spirit." Latimer died after a short death struggle. Ridley's torture continued longer, for the flames reached him very slowly, consuming his feet before his upper parts were touched by the fire. He cried aloud, "Lord, have mercy upon me," and prayed the executioners, "Let the fire come unto me; I cannot burn." Finally one came and made the fire flame up bright and kindle the powder. Then the martyr sank down, his body falling at Latimer's feet. Hundreds among the spectators melted in tears, beholding the painful death of Ridley, and seeing men consumed by fire in whom was so great knowledge, piety, virtue, and majesty. That fire was indeed a light kindled in England, no more to be put out.

In front of the place where Ridley and Latimer were burned (October 16, 1555), and where five months later Cranmer was burned (March 21, 1556), there was erected in 1840 a fitting martyr memorial. To Ridley and men like him there is due from every honest evangelical Christian a memorial now, even grateful recollection.—G. L.

LIFE XIX. JOHN HOOPER.

A. D. 1495—A. D. 1555. CLERICAL LEADER,—ENGLAND.

Of the English churchmen who introduced the leaven of Swiss Calvinism into the reformed movement in England,—at first so confined to externals,—giving it thus more life, more thoroughness and power, and quickening at the same time an eccentric and one-sided puritan tendency, we name as a leader John Hooper, bishop of Gloucester and Worcester.

Born in Somerset, he became familiar while a student at Oxford with the Protestant ideas which penetrated him afterwards, and produced in him a declared foe of popery. His tendency was noted by Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who was well-nigh supreme with Henry Eighth at that period. Mortally hating innovation, even though maintaining Henry's headship in England, Gardiner attempted to turn Hooper from his course. The latter paid no heed to his remonstrances. Soon he was made aware that at court and among the foes of reform he was counted a notorious heretic. Next there appeared the six articles by which Henry set limits to reform and tried to arrest it. Hooper, an outspoken opponent of the attempt, found himself threatened with deadly persecution. To escape the worst he fled (1537) to the coast in a sailor's garb, crossed

to France, and took refuge in Switzerland. Here he lived in one place and another, and at last in Zürich (April, 1547, till March, 1549), in close intimacy with Bullinger, and devoted to the study of theology and of Hebrew. He adopted in full the Zwinglian view of church reform. He also married, on the advice of Bullinger. Meanwhile, king Henry, the grievous persecutor of Protestantism, was dead (January 28, 1547). Cranmer was pushing on the Reformation gradually, under the protection of the regency; and many prominent divines of the Continent were receiving calls to England, to the universities in particular, to help strengthen Protestantism with the clergy. Hooper accordingly went home, hoping to find entrance for his ideas acquired among the Swiss. Like the celebrated popular orator, Hugh Latimer, he came upon England with downright enthusiastic discourse upon Rome's apostasy from the gospel, and made a great excitement with his sermons. Moves England by preaching. Great moving of hearts, far and wide, proceeded from his strong, pithy, soaring speech in support of the truth of the gospel. King Edward's council saw that Hooper must be advanced to a prominent and influential position in the church. He was first made the chaplain of Dudley, earl of Warwick, and then bishop of Gloucester (July, 1550). At once, Hooper's hearty opposition to the whole course of English reform, and to the conception of Protestantism prevailing in England, came vividly to light. He did not, indeed, maintain as strict a puritanism as Knox, but he declined to wear the episcopal vestments (which were still in many respects like the Romish). The "Aaronic vestments" seemed a "sign of fellowship with antichrist." He also declared himself unable to take the prescribed oath to the archbishop, because it named not only God, but also the saints ("So helpe me God, all saints," etc.). Cranmer tried to convince him on the first point, but in vain. Warwick bade Cranmer overlook forms, and consecrate Hooper as bishop without the vestments. Cranmer said that this was not possible, for if he yielded here, the Romish prelates, on their side, would make the most dangerous demands. Hooper preferred to forego his bishopric rather than, as a Bible Protestant, yield to what offended his conscience. Cranmer then asked two men, Martin Bucer, professor at that time in Cambridge, and Peter Martyr Vermigli, professor in Oxford, who stood very high in Hooper's eyes as theological authorities, to give their opinions on the vestments and on Hooper's view of them. Both of them favored compromise. Bucer said that the use of the episcopal vestments in general was to be disapproved, as promoting superstition; but when they were to be put on but once, to fulfill the law, Hooper might submit to them. To the pure all things are pure. Peter Martyr said that the dress of the clergy was a thing morally indifferent, and that it would be unwise to excite a contest respecting it so as to hinder the advance of the Reformation.

Hooper gave no heed to these arguments. On the contrary, he published a writing in justification of his course, calling it his confession of faith. By his puritan zeal in sermons and discourses of all kinds against priestly garments he raised such a popular excitement, breaking forth into disturbances in one place and another, that the regency put him under the special care of Cranmer, and when that did not avail cast him into prison. In the loneliness of his cell, cut off from friends who sought to urge him to greater extremes than he himself thought of, he gradually came to look at the whole question at issue in another light. Upon king Edward's omitting the invocation of the saints in the oath, Hooper assented to a compromise, preached a sermon before the king in full episcopal vestments, and wore the same at his consecration (March, 1551). He agreed to wear them when publicly officiating as bishop, or when in the king's presence. In every-day life he was allowed to lay them aside.

Besides Gloucester, Worcester was also given to Hooper's charge, yet without any increase of revenues. At once he began to ^{A model pastor.} preach and labor for souls in church and out of it, with the utmost zeal and activity. By a suggestion of his, before his consecration, communion tables were appointed, by order of the council, instead of altars, in all the churches of the realm. Hooper evinced great interest and zeal in introducing and enforcing systematic and strict discipline. Upon this account he was once visited with rude personal violence by a nobleman, whom he summoned before his spiritual court for adultery. Hooper's activity continued throughout Edward's reign. When the king died in his tender youth, and Bloody Mary ascended the English throne, she, with her advisers, at once marked out the bishop of Worcester as a victim. He was ordered to London, on the pretense that he owed the crown money. Warned and earnestly entreated by his friends to save himself by flight, he considered that he must obey the order. He repaired to London, was at once imprisoned, and admonished by a clerical commission, before which he was brought, to abjure his heresy. When he repelled the advice with decision, he was sentenced to be degraded, and was then given over to the civil power. By the latter he was doomed to the fire, and to suffer in Gloucester. With calm resignation, Hooper heard the sentence, thanking God that it was allowed him, in the place where he taught gospel truth according to his word, to bear witness for it in the flames. Stripped of his garments as bishop and priest, he was forced to go afoot to Gloucester to die. Arriving, he was allowed one day's repose, and then was led to the stake. All discourse to the multitude surrounding the place of execution being forbidden him, he uttered aloud in prayer what he would say to them for a farewell. When he reached the Amen, he said the fire would not do its work, made as it was of green wood. He asked that other wood be brought and the fire made afresh, that he might die. Still, the wind blowing prolonged his agony

for three quarters of an hour. When his left hand had burned and fallen off, he was seen laying his right hand on his bosom, and, with uplifted eyes, was heard calling on the Lord Jesus, to whom he committed his spirit. Then his suffering ended.—H. H.

LIFE XX. ANNE ASKEW.

A. D. 1521—A. D. 1546. LAICAL LEADER,—ENGLAND.

THE Articles of Blood, made by Henry Eighth,¹ with harsh and cruel spirit brought to death both adherents of the papacy and friends of the Reformation. Among the latter was the pious, devoted Anne Askew.

Of her early life we know little, save that she came of an ancient noble family in Lincoln, was educated by her parents in accordance with her position and the opportunities of her times, and distinguished herself by her knowledge, prudence, consideration, by her steadfastness of character and sincere, hearty piety. She had obtained the Bible in English, read and studied it diligently, and found in it a rich gospel treasure. She was twenty-five years old (March, 1546) when the command came that she should appear before an inquisitorial commission appointed by the king. She was called to go through two trials, which she herself reported in writing, while in prison, for the sake of her friends and associates. Her convictions, as set forth, are marked by the utmost shrewdness, steadfastness, and plainness.

At the first trial she was interrogated in the outset by an inquisitor, ^{Before the in-} Christopher Dare, as to certain persons who were suspected ^{quisitor.} of heresy. Then the question was asked whether she believed of the Sacrament of the altar that it was the real human body of Christ. She replied that he should first tell her wherefore the holy Stephen was stoned to death. On his answering that he could not tell, she rejoined that no more would she answer his vain question. The discussion which ensued, which is very interesting, shows no sign of embarrassment, but the utmost presence of mind and readiness of defense. Said the judge, “There has a woman informed us that thou in a certain place didst read that God dwelleth not in houses made by men’s hands.” Anne appealed to what Stephen and Paul had said (Acts vii. 48, xvii. 24). The judge asked her to explain this and that saying. She answered, “We must not throw pearls before swine; they must eat acorns.” Said the judge, “Who taught thee to say that thou wouldest rather hear five verses in the Scriptures than ever so many masses in the church?” Anne: “I will not deny my saying, but I did not mean it respecting the Gospels and Epistles which are read at the mass out of God’s Word. From

¹ See page 171.

reading and meditation of the Scriptures I receive benefit and edification, but not from the mass; as Paul testifies, ‘For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?’” Judge: “What sayest thou of confession?” Anne: “The same that the Apostle James teaches,—that one should confess his sins to another, and pray for the other.” Judge: “Hast thou the Spirit of God?” Anne: “If I had not Him, I would not be God’s, but would be of the number of the reprobate.” Judge: “I have brought a priest, who is to examine thee.” Then a priest from the adjoining room came in and questioned Anne on the main point of the indictment, her view of the Sacrament of the altar. When she perceived that he was a papist, she begged him to excuse her from making any answer. The chief inquisitor then came upon her with the question what she thought of masses for souls, and whether they could render help or comfort to the departed. Anne answered firmly and decidedly, “If one puts his trust on the masses more than on the blood of Christ, the Son of God, who died for us, it is idolatry and horrible blasphemy.”

After the trial Anne was sent to the lord mayor, who interrogated her anew. He asked if a mouse should eat the consecrated bread, whether it ate God. Anne simply laughed at the foolish inquiry. When at last the bishop’s chancellor rebuked her because she, a woman, would declare God’s Word and the Holy Scripture, which Paul had forbidden to women to speak, Anne answered, “The Apostle’s meaning is plain to me that women should not teach in the congregation, as men, to whom the charge of instructing the church is committed.” She put the keen question, “How many women hast thou in thy life seen enter the pulpit and preach?” When he was forced to say none, she ended the conversation with the decided words, “Then you ought not to condemn poor women with untimely judgment, when the law leaves them free.”

On the 23d of March she was visited in prison by her cousin, and asked whether she were not willing to be released on bail. When she assented, he repaired to the mayor to make his petition. The mayor agreed, provided bishop Bonner gave consent. The second day after, Anne was brought before Bonner, and admonished by him and his associates to open her heart. Anne replied that she had hidden nothing in her heart not to be told, for she had a calm and clear conscience, and was sensible of neither a care in her heart nor a gnawing worm. Bonner continued, “As when a skillful surgeon places a plaster on a wound he must know how great and deep the wound is, so I cannot give thee any counsel till thou hast shown me the wounds and diseases of thy conscience.” Anne: “I am, thank God, conscious of nothing wrong; it were very preposterous treatment to place a plaster on a sound skin.” He then repeated the former accusations, to which she returned the former apt replies. Finally he asked her directly,

Before the
bishop.

“What is thy belief concerning the Sacrament?” Anna: “I believe what the Holy Scripture teaches concerning it.” Bonner: “What if the Scripture doth say that it is the body of Christ?” Anna: “I believe thoroughly and only the Holy Scripture.” At last he asked how it came that she answered with so few words. Anne: “God hath given to me the gift of knowledge, but not of utterance; and why reprovest thou in me what king Solomon praiseth in his proverbs, saying that a woman of understanding that speaks in few words and discreetly is an especial gift of God?”

After several days came another trial, five hours in length, and she was asked, among other things, especially concerning her opinion respecting the Supper. She replied, “I believe that so oft as I, in a Christian congregation, do receive the bread in remembrance of Christ’s death, with thanksgiving according to his holy institution, I receive therewith also the fruits of his most glorious passion.” The bishop desired she should speak plainly, and use no circumlocutions. Anne: “I cannot sing the Lord’s song in a strange land.” Bonner: “Thou speakest in parables and similitudes.” Anne: “I must speak with thee thus, for were I to speak the open truth thou wouldst still not accept it.” Then he called her a parrot, to which she replied, “I am ready to bear not only all thy rebukes with patience, but all that thou doest further against me.” The hearing was continued on other days. She was desired by the bishop of Winton, and others, to confess that the Sacrament contained Christ’s body, flesh, blood, and bones. Anne replied, “It is a shameful thing to which you advise me; to say what you yourself do not believe.” He replied that he would speak to her kindly and in confidence. “Yes,” said Anne, “as Judas, when he wished to betray Jesus.” Finally there was laid before her a confession respecting the Sacrament, for her signature, which she most decidedly refused. Next day, which was Sunday, Anne felt very ill, and asked to see Dr. Latimer, but was denied her request. Instead she was carried to prison at Newgate.

She was informed, after this trial, that she was a heretic, and according to law doomed to death if she stubbornly held to her opinion. She replied, “No, I am not a heretic.” They would have her say whether she denied that Christ’s body and blood were in the Supper. Anne answered, “I deny it utterly and finally; for God’s Son, born of Mary, according to our Christian creed, reigns in heaven, and will return in like manner as He ascended thither. I do not deny that the Sacrament should receive all proper reverence, but because ye with your superstition transgress and make it a god, and show it divine honor, I say it is but bread, and prove it such by this token: if you keep your god three months in a chest, letting it be, it will mould and rot, and at last wholly perish; and is that a god that cannot endure three months?” They asked her to confess to a priest. She smiled, and said, “It is enough if

I confess my sins to God, and I doubt not He hears my confession, and because I have a penitent heart will forgive me. What He can and will perform must abide through eternity." The sentence of death was at once passed upon her.

To no purpose did she protest against the sentence in a letter to the chancellor, then in a petition to the king. She was brought, ^{Tortured and} according to custom, to the London Tower, asked respect-^{slain.}ing her associates, and, when she named none, stretched repeatedly upon the rack, till the members of her body were out of joint and rent asunder, and she was fallen in a swoon. She was again beset by threats and arguments, to make her recant. When she was still steadfast, and yet her strength so small that her death in prison was apprehended, she was hurried to public execution in the fire. Since, from her tortures, she could neither stand nor walk, she was carried on a chair to the Horse Market, and bound to a post by iron chains. All was ready. Then arrived royal letters promising life if she recanted. She would not look at them. The fagots were kindled. With three men of like faith she suffered a painful but glorious martyr death. The year after (1546) Henry Eighth went to meet his judge. — F. A.

LIFE XXI. PATRICK HAMILTON.

A. D. 1504—A. D. 1529. CLERICAL LEADER, — SCOTLAND.

PATRICK HAMILTON, first preacher and martyr of the Reformation in Scotland, was of noble birth and ancestry. His father, Sir Patrick Hamilton, was an illegitimate son, afterward legitimized, of the first Lord Hamilton, who married Mary, daughter of king James Second. His mother was Catherine Stuart, daughter of Alexander, duke of Albany, second son of the same monarch. Neither the time nor the place of his birth is certainly known. Yet there is evidence that he was born at Stonehouse, near Glasgow, some time in 1504. As a younger son, he was early destined to the church, and in 1517 was made titular abbot of Ferne, a cloister (of the Premonstrants) in Ross shire. In that same year, probably, he left Scotland to pursue his studies at the University of Paris. It has long been thought that he was a student at St. Andrew's. Quite recently his name was found in a manuscript register of the "Magistri Jurati" at Paris, under date of 1520. This discovery throws important light on the way by which he came to the knowledge of gospel truth. There were a number of disciples of Erasmus and Luther at that school at the time of Hamilton's residence. The flames of controversy concerning the new science and the new philosophy were then burning in Paris. When Hamilton, after first spending a while in Louvain, evidently for

sake of its new college of the three languages, came home to Scotland ^{Home from the} (1523), he was already a decided Erasmian, not only in his Continent. love for the classics, but in his conviction of the need of a church reformation.

Alexander Alesius (a Scottish contemporary of Hamilton) records that "he was a man of distinguished erudition, rejecting all the sophistry of the schools, and tracing philosophy to its sources — to the original writings of Plato and Aristotle." The same writer informs us that, although Hamilton was an abbot, he never put on the cloister garb, "so great was his hatred of monkish hypocrisy." Instead of staying with the monks of his own abbey of Ferne, he became a member of the University of St. Andrew's and a "teacher of the arts," taking up his residence in that city. It required the study and reflection of years to make of the youthful disciple of Erasmus a decided adherent of Luther. Hamilton was hardly an open supporter of the Reformation when he entered the priesthood (probably in 1526); still, the motives directing him to the priesthood reveal the evangelic spirit which secretly ruled in his heart. "This came to pass," says the English martyr John Frith, "because he sought all means for witnessing the truth, even as Paul circumcised Timothy in order to gain the weak Jews." Hamilton did not as yet see that true loyalty to God's Word was inconsistent with loyalty to the church of Rome. In the beginning of 1527 reports first reached the archbishop of St. Andrew's that Hamilton had openly supported the cause of Luther. At once Beaton took steps to bring him to a strict account. Such a preacher of heresy was indeed to be dreaded. In a country where noble birth and influential connections weighed more with the people than in any other European kingdom, a preacher of Lutheranism, with royal blood in his veins and all the power of the Hamiltons at his back, was as dangerous a foe to the church as Martin Luther himself would have been.

The affair was serious. No time must be lost. Beaton set on foot immediate inquiries into the truth of the news brought to him. When he found the young priest "spotted with contentious heresy, with the varied heresies of Martin Luther and his associates, battling against the truth," he summoned Hamilton before him. Patrick had equipped himself to preach the truth, but did not find himself quite ready yet to ^{Takes refuge in} die for it. He had the faith of an evangelist, but not of a Germany. martyr. He vanished from Scotland (spring, 1527), and went to the gospel school of Germany, accompanied by two friends and a servant. He spent a short time in Wittenberg, but unfortunately no details of his intercourse with Luther and Melancthon are preserved. From Wittenberg he went to Marburg, and was present at the dedication of the new university of the landgrave Philip. His name still remains written on the first page of the academic album. He formed a warm

attachment for Francis Lambert, whom Philip had brought from Strassburg and made president of his theological faculty. Hamilton soon distinguished himself under him by his progress in theology. The pupil's affection was fully returned by the master. Lambert has left us a written testimony to his friend's ability and worth. He says, "His knowledge was unusual for his years, and his judgment in matters of religion was exceeding correct and profound. The object of his coming to the university was to ground himself thoroughly in the truth, and I can truly say that I have seldom met any one who occupied himself with the Word of God with more spirit and devotion. He often conversed with me upon this subject. He was the first, after the founding of the university, to present by my advice a series of theses for open disputation. His theses were conceived in the spirit of the gospel, and were maintained with the greatest erudition." These theses were afterwards translated into English by John Frith, and in this form preserved by Fox in his "Book of Martyrs," and by John Knox under the name of "Patrick's Commonplaces." They are an interesting and important memorial of the earliest faith of the Scottish Reformation. Their teaching is purely evangelic, without the peculiarities of either the Lutheran or the Swiss confessions. Hamilton's theology, like Lambert's, was "modeled upon the teachings of Luther, and in its philosophic form was presented and enforced in the style of the Commonplaces of Melanchthon."

After the lapse of half a year in Protestant Germany, Hamilton felt that the time was come when his duty to God and fatherland called him home. His two friends appear to have been deterred by the danger from accompanying him. No consideration of danger could keep Hamilton from his lofty design of evangelizing his fatherland. What a change! Six months before he fled from his country because he did not feel that he had grown equal to the vocation of a Christian martyr. Now he hastens to confront the danger which he then hastened to avoid. Most amazing, yet not so difficult of explanation; for these six months he had spent among the most renowned champions and doctors of the reformed faith. His instructors had all been evangelical teachers of the first rank, and they were Christian heroes as well. For such a man as Hamilton it was impossible to have fellowship with such and not partake of their spirit and be overcome by their influence.

Arriving in Scotland, Hamilton repaired to the family residence of Kincavel, near Linlithgow, and there took his first congregation. His older brother, Sir James, was now in possession of the family estates and honors. His mother was living still; he also had a sister Catherine, a lady of spirit and ability. His near relatives and the family servants constituted his first audience. His work among them was blessed with marked success. Both his brother and

At home for a life-work.

sister embraced the truth, and in after years were esteemed worthy to suffer for its sake many things. Hamilton did not confine himself to Kincavel. He set out to preach the long-lost gospel in all the country around. "The bright rays of true light," says Knox, "which by God's grace were in his heart, began to blaze gloriously around, not only secretly but openly." "Wherever he came," says another historian, "he omitted not to expose openly the corruption of the Roman church, and to show the errors which had crept into the Christian religion. He was hearkened to by many. By his doctrine and his gentle bearing he won a large following among all sorts of people."

What Hamilton preached to gain such success may be seen in his "Commonplaces." From this little tract we gather that the soul and life of his short but fruitful work as a teacher were the "truth as it is in Jesus." This, as the spring of all love and hope, he preached to the people of Scotland. He aimed to reform the national church from the root, not from the branches. By renewing the germ of faith and life in Scotland, he hoped to improve the tree and its fruits. Nor was his hope disappointed. True, the preacher himself was soon silenced and slain. But his teachings lived after him, working like leaven on the popular heart, till the whole was leavened.

Hamilton had married not long after coming home from Germany, a decided step for a priest and abbot. His bride was a young lady of noble family. Her name has not been handed down to us. The reformer was influenced in this, says Alesius, by his hatred of Romish hypocrisy. He showed here Luther's disposition, declaring by word and by deed how utterly he repudiated the presumptuous, oppressive dominion of the papacy. But neither wedlock nor ministry was to continue long with him. The archbishop of St. Andrew's resumed (in 1528) the proceedings against him, which had been interrupted the previous year by his flight to Germany. With an affected tone of justice and moderation, Beaton sent a messenger to invite him to a conference at St. Andrew's over such points of the church's condition and administration as seemed to need amendment. Hamilton was not deluded by his representations. He clearly saw his foes' policy, and foretold the speedy result of their undertaking. Knowing well, as did Paul, that bonds and imprisonment awaited him in the city of the scribes and pharisees, he yet felt bound in spirit to go thither, not counting his life dear unto himself, so that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry which he had received

Goes boldly to of the Lord Jesus to testify the gospel of the grace of God. St. Andrews. On his arrival at St. Andrew's, about the middle of January, the proposed conference took place, and was continued through several days. The archbishop and his coadjutors, still affecting moderation, seemed to approve the reformer's views in many respects. At the close of the conference Hamilton was allowed to go freely about the city

and the university, declaring his views without restraint in public and in private. By this policy of hypocrisy and delay his opponents would accomplish several objects. They would gain time for intrigue, and for securing the consent of the political leaders of the country to the tragic result that was coming. They also gave Hamilton opportunity and inducement to publish his opinions without reserve in a city peopled with their own allies. Every new expression of his hostility to the church was at once taken down, and used as a weapon for his destruction.

The good cause was nevertheless essentially assisted by delay: for the diligent reformer used the favorable opening, unexpectedly made, to the best advantage. He taught and disputed in public in the university on all the points wherein he sought a reform in church doctrine, administration of sacraments, or other observances. He kept on thus for a whole month. This busy time of public debate and private conference was a precious seed-sowing. At St. Andrew's he was in the church metropolis. He was meeting leading men of all classes, beyond what was possible in any other single city of Scotland,—professors and students, deans and canons, secular and spiritual members of orders, Augustines, Dominicans, and Franciscans. They all heard his voice and felt the power of his teaching. At last the moment arrived when Beaton and his advisers thought it safe to unmask. A summons was sent Hamilton, notifying him to appear before the primate on a day named, to meet the charge of teaching divers heresies. Hamilton's friends, seeing what would come, urged him, while still at liberty, to save himself by flight. He utterly refused to fly from St. Andrew's. He was come hither, he said, to build up believers by his death as a martyr. To turn his back would set a stone of stumbling in the way, to cause some at least to fall.

Going before the archbishop and his associate judges, Hamilton was charged with teaching heresies as set forth in thirteen articles. He made answer that certain of the articles were matters of controversy. He could not pronounce for or against them till he had further evidence. The first seven articles contained teachings unquestionably true, and he was prepared to defend them. The articles were then submitted to the consideration of an assembly of theologians, Hamilton, in the mean time, being allowed to go at large. But soon all was ready for the close of the tragedy. The reformer was arrested and taken to the castle of St. Andrew's. The last of February he was brought before a court of heresy, made up of prelates, abbots, priors, and doctors, sitting in imposing assembly in the metropolitan cathedral. The theologians delivered their condemnation of the articles to the court, pronouncing their teachings opposed to the church and heretical. Then the monk Campbell arose and read the articles in a loud voice, turning one after another of them into an indictment against the reformer. “I my-
Is put upon his trial.

self," says Alesius, "was an eye-witness of the tragedy, and heard him reply to the charges which were brought against him. He was very far from denying them; on the contrary, maintaining and establishing all of them by clear proofs, out of the Holy Scripture, and combating the views of his accuser." At last Campbell closed, and turned to the court for new instructions. "Read aloud the indictment," cried the bishop; "add new charges; call him a heretic to his face!" "Heretic!" shouted the Dominican, turning to the pulpit where Hamilton stood. "No, my brother," answered Hamilton gently; "thou in thy heart dost not count me a heretic; in thy conscience thou knowest that I am no heretic." This personal appeal must have gone to the monk's heart, for in several private conferences he had confessed to Hamilton that in many points he agreed with him. Still, Campbell had engaged, in a mean way, to play a part, and he had to play the part through. "Heretic," he again cried, "thou sayest that it is granted all persons to read God's Word, and especially the New Testament!" "I wot not," replied Hamilton, "if I said so; but I say now it is reason and lawful to all to read God's Word and to understand the same, and in particular the last will and testament of Jesus Christ, by which men are led to see their sins and repent of them, to amend their lives by faith and contrition, and to seek the mercy of God in Jesus Christ." "Heretic, thou sayest it is but lost labor to call on the saints, and in particular on the Virgin Mary, as mediators with God for us." "I say with Paul that there is no mediator between God and man save Jesus Christ his Son, and whoever they be who invoke or supplicate any departed saint, they spoil Jesus Christ of his office." "Heretic, thou sayest it is vain to sing soul-masses and psalms for the relaxation of souls departed, who are in the torments of purgatory!" "My brother, I have never in God's Word read of such a place as purgatory, nor yet believe I that there is anything that can purge the souls of men except the blood of Jesus Christ. Their ransom is by no earthly thing, neither by soul-masses, nor gold, nor silver, but by repentance for their sins, and by faith in the blood of Jesus Christ." Such was Hamilton's noble confession in presence of that solemn tribunal. He declared the whole truth of God. He spoke the truth in love, calling his shameless and false accuser by the name of brother.

Sentence of condemnation was passed. Its execution was appointed for that very day. The bishop having reason to fear that the liberation of the prisoner might be attempted by armed citizens, the usual forms of deposition from the office of priest were omitted. In the space of an hour or two after Hamilton had received his sentence in the cathedral, the stake at which he should die was made ready by the executioner, opposite the gate of the College of St. Salvadour. When the martyr came in sight of the fateful place, about noon, he bared his head, and, looking upwards, prayed to Him who only could

His death of agony.

grant him a martyr's strength and triumph. When he reached the stake, he gave to a friend a copy of the New Testament, his long-time companion, removed his hat and coat and other outer garments and gave them to his servant, with the words, "These will not profit in the fire, but they will profit thee. Hereafter thou canst have from me no profit except the example of my death, which I pray thee keep in memory; for though bitter to the flesh and fearful before man, it is the door to eternal life, which none will attain who denies Christ Jesus before this ungodly generation."

The archbishop's officers made a last endeavor to shake his courage. They promised him life if he would recant the confession made in the cathedral. "My confession," he answered, "I will not deny through fear of your fire, for my confession and faith rest upon Jesus Christ. As regards your sentence against me this day, I make appeal here, in the presence of all, against that sentence and decision, and commit me to the grace of God." The executioners proceeded to their office. He was made fast to the stake, and powder placed under the fagots and lighted. Still, though the flame was thrice kindled, it did not reach the stake. Dry wood and more powder were brought from the castle. The pangs of the martyr were thus dreadfully prolonged. Alesius, who witnessed the whole scene, tells us that his execution lasted almost six hours, and in all that time he assures us the martyr gave no sign of impatience or of anger. When surrounded and consumed by the blazing fire, he remembered, in the midst of his agony, his widowed mother, and in the closing moments commended her to the care of his friends. His last audible words were, "How long, O Lord, shall darkness brood over this realm? How long wilt Thou suffer this tyranny of man? Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."

In this tragic yet glorious way Patrick Hamilton met death, February 29, 1528,—the noble martyr of a noble cause. He found it impossible, while the Roman church remained entire and supreme in Scotland, to give a long life of labor to the cause of the gospel, once more advancing. He therefore accepted joyfully the honor of promoting it by heroic steadfastness and devotion in dying. Scotland needed such a martyr that she might be shaken to her foundations. There was more awakening power in such a death than in the labors of a lengthened life. If his words were few, they proved to be seed words, and fruitful. They were the words of the wise, which are as goads and as nails fastened in a sure place. His fiery torture fastened and stamped them forever in the heart of the nation.

At Marburg the surprise of the reformers and their sorrow were equal. "He came to your university," wrote Lambert, in a Latin memorial, to the landgrave Philip of Hesse, a few months after this, "away from Scotland, that far-off corner of the earth, and then returned thither to be its first and its renowned apostle. He was all fire and zeal to confess

Christ's name, and has offered himself to God a holy and living sacrifice. He brought to God's church not only the renown of his position and talents, but his very life. This flower of glorious fragrance, nay, this ripe fruit, your university has produced in its very beginning. Ye are not disappointed in your hopes. Ye founded the school hoping that from it should go forth fearless confessors of Christ and steadfast champions of his truth. Behold, ye already have such an one, — an example every way glorious! Others, if it be God's will, will soon follow after." — P. L.

LIFE XXII. GEORGE WISHART.

A. D. 1500 ?—A. D. 1546. CLERICAL LEADER, — SCOTLAND.

AT the death of James Fifth of Scotland (December 18, 1542), his daughter, afterwards Mary Queen of Scots, was but ten days old. Under James, who favored arts and sciences, and invited scholars into the kingdom, the doctrines of Calvin had entered the country and been accepted by many Scotchmen of all classes. The papists had grown enraged, and had succeeded in bringing a number of Protestants to the stake. Their leaders now were the queen mother, of the family of Guise, in France, and cardinal Beaton. The other side were led by Lord Hamilton, of Arran, the head of the regency. The enraged cardinal sought in every way to strengthen himself. He purposed to put down the Scotch nobility by the help of French troops, and with it the new doctrine. One of the victims of his rage was George Wishart, the Christian martyr.

Wishart came from a family (in Pittarow, in Mearns) of which several members were already Protestants. He studied at Cambridge, returning to Scotland in 1544. He was too full of love to God to stand an idle spectator of the ignorance of his people, and was constrained to preach. He began his mission in Montrose, with great blessing. Persecuted in that city, he turned to Dundee. Here he gave lectures upon Romans, surprising all and converting many. The clergy, excited, announced that their pretended New Testament was a heretical book, written by a certain Martin Luther, whom the devil had sent to earth to mislead souls. Wishart replied, but was ordered by the authorities to leave Dundee. He departed, and was made welcome in other places. He preached in many parishes of Ayrshire, and often in the fields to great multitudes. He spoke with ravishing eloquence of "the King in his beauty," and of "the land which is very far off," thousands hanging upon his words.

Wishart's labors here were interrupted by the news that the plague had entered Dundee. He was greatly moved, for Dundee lay near his heart. Not content with praying for the city, he hastened back thither at all haz-

ards. The day after his arrival he gathered the people at the East Gate, the well citizens inside, the sick outside, the gate, and preached to them out of the overflowing faith in God which filled his own heart. His text was, "He sent his word, and healed them." (Psalms cvii. 20.) A general awakening followed, with extraordinary results. Every day he made that gate his pulpit, preaching the word of life, while he went from house to house visiting the sick and dying, and comforting them. Even at this moment his foes sought his life, putting an assassin upon his path. A priest hired by Beaton to carry out their bloody purposes attempted it in the very place where Wishart preached! The design was frustrated. Its disclosure endeared Wishart to the popular heart, and increased the zeal of the preacher, who counted that his time was short.

After the close of the plague, or after the worst was past, Wishart went again to Montrose. While he labored there, studying and preaching, his life was sought again by Beaton. When Lord Hamilton would not consent to an open arrest, Beaton aimed to entrap Wishart in secret. By forged letters, written as if from friends desiring his ministerial help, the cardinal planned to get him into his power. The plan had almost succeeded, when it was revealed, and Wishart saved for a while longer. Yet he said, "As soon as God ends one conflict there is a summons to another." His friends in Ayrshire wished him to meet them in Edinburgh, "for they would secure a public debate from the bishops, and he should be openly heard." He assented, and at the time appointed left Montrose, amid the prayers and tears of the disciples. On his way he was profoundly affected in spirit, and said, "I am convinced that my work draws near an end. God bids me therefore not now to turn back, when the conflict is at its height."

He went with a few friends to Leith, without finding those whom he expected. He remained in hiding here and in other places for some time, not, however, ceasing to preach. About Christmas he went to Haddington, where he expected many hearers. Lord Bothwell, however, at the instigation of the cardinal, prevented their assembling. Wishart said then to John Knox, who was with him, "I am weary of the world, for the world seems to be weary of God." To the few faithful friends and believing followers of Christ who gathered about him at the close of his testimony he bade a solemn, affectionate farewell. Deeming that he had preached his last sermon, he went the same night to ^{will go alone} Ormiston. John Knox would have gone with him, but ^{into peril.} Wishart would not permit him, saying, "No, no; one is sufficient for one sacrifice." Some friends passed the evening with him, spending the time in religious exercises; afterwards Wishart retired to rest. About midnight Lord Bothwell surrounded the house with a troop of soldiers. Resistance or escape was out of the question. As soon as Wishart perceived this he bade his friends open the door, and with cheerful resignation

said, "The good will of my God be done." Taken by the cardinal, he was led to Edinburgh. Near the last of January he was carried to St. Andrew's, whither the cardinal called the bishops and all the church dignitaries. He purposed to give his proceeding dignity and importance, and so sought to involve the bishops in Wishart's condemnation. The summons was obeyed. With great array and with military escort they marched to the abbey church. The sub-prior Winram, who was suspected of favoring the gospel, was ordered to preach. Beaton aimed to secure an open expression of the views imputed to him, or a retraction of them by a discourse in favor of the church's authority and doctrine. Winram, whom he hoped thus to entrap, spoke ably, but circumspectly. Wishart was next placed in the pulpit, that he might be seen the better by all as he listened to the charges read by a certain priest named Lauder. After the close of the indictment, Lauder spat out bitterly and contemptuously at Wishart: "What answerest thou to these charges, thou renegade, traitor, and rogue?" The articles on which Wishart was condemned need hardly be repeated. Among them were the charges of rejecting the authority of church and pope, the seven sacraments and purgatory, the sinfulness of eating meats on Friday, and prayers to saints and angels. He was held up as an embodiment of ungodliness. His defense was calm, strong, and unanswerable. His arguments were so powerful that the prelates themselves said, "If we suffer him to preach, he is Doomed to die at the stake. so crafty and well versed in Scripture that he will win the people to his belief and excite them against us." He was doomed to die at the stake. The sentence was pronounced by the cardinal.

Led back to prison, he stayed till the fire was prepared. Then, with a rope round his neck and a chain about his body, he was taken to the stake and secured. His Christian courage did not forsake him. He exhorted the assembled people to seek repentance, faith, and holiness, defended himself against the reproaches of his enemies, and talked of the blessing and glory of other days, when the ark of God would sail triumphing over the floods; humbly and heartily praying, not for himself alone, but for all God's persecuted people, and for his persecutors and murderers that they might have repentance, enlightenment, and pardon. His submission, heroism, and death agony affected the people deeply. Murmurs arose as the flames crackled about him and painfully tortured him. Cheerful he waited, till his soul ascended to his Lord. His body was left a mere heap of ashes. Thus, on March 1, 1546, George Wishart was tried, sentenced, and burned to death. — C. B.

LIFE XXIII. JOHN KNOX.

A. D. 1505—A. D. 1572. CLERICAL LEADER,—SCOTLAND.

THE renowned Scottish reformer, John Knox, was born in 1505, near Haddington, the shire town of East Lothian. His father, though not noble, was of an ancient respectable family, and gave his boy a classical education. When young Knox had learned the elements in the Latin school of Haddington, he was sent to Glasgow University (1521). He there enjoyed the instructions of the learned John Mair (or Major), having as a fellow-student the famous scholar, George Buchanan. Of his early life, or the events which led him to embrace Protestantism, there is little known. He became a priest about 1530, and it appears was connected for some time with a convent in his native county. He early renounced, as did his fellow-student Buchanan, the subtleties of the scholastic theology. He applied himself to the Bible, as well as to the writings of Jerome and Augustine. Gradually he opened his heart to receive the doctrines of redemption, which were echoing from Germany to Scotland, and which his youthful and noble countryman, Patrick Hamilton, had of late sealed with his blood.

Knox first betrayed his change of sentiment in certain lectures in the university at St. Andrew's, where Hamilton had perished in the fire. His defection aroused the clergy to denounce him as a traitor, and deprive him of his priesthood. He escaped death only by timely flight from the vengeance of cardinal Beaton, who had engaged his emissaries to lay hold of him. He found protection under Douglas of Langniddrie, and employment as a tutor. Knox next appears in the company of George Wishart. The sword which was carried before the preacher after the attempt to assassinate him in Dundee was borne by Knox. On the night when the noble martyr was arrested, at the cardinal's command, he ordered that the sword be taken from his zealous attendant. Knox begged for leave to follow him, but Wishart answered, "Nay, return to your bairnes [meaning his pupils], and God blis you; ane is sufficient for a sacrifice."

The cruel martyrdom of him whom Knox revered as his spiritual father, and whom for his endearing qualities he cherished as a brother, made certainly a powerful impression on the ardent soul of the reformer. Knox himself was in constant peril from the bloody foe. We find him, after the murder of the Romanist Beaton, seeking a refuge in St. Andrew's Castle, which the cardinal's slayers held as a safe resort from the persecutions of the papists. There an event befell him which had the most serious bearing upon all his future. Until now Knox's utterances in favor of reformed doctrines had been private, consisting in Bible expo-

sitions to his pupils and his neighbors. He had never undertaken the place of a public preacher. Nor did he consider his office as priest enough to justify him in doing so, without a call from a Christian congregation. He received this call in the most unlooked-for manner. Among the Protestants taking refuge in St. Andrew's Castle were Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, the poet and the scourge of the priesthood; Henry Balnaves, one of those stout barons who lent aid by pen and sword to the Scotch Reformation; and John Rough, a noted reformed preacher. These men quickly recognized in Knox's ability and skill in giving instruction to his pupils the germs of an energy and popular eloquence that were destined to earn him renown. They urged him to undertake the preacher's work. Knox, distrusting his own ability, and entertaining a lofty idea of the importance of the office, steadfastly declined. Finally, by a mutual agreement, without letting Knox know anything of their design, they resolved to take him by storm. On a certain day after Rough had preached a sermon on the election of ministers, wherein he maintained the right of a Christian congregation, however small, to choose its own preacher, he turned suddenly to Knox, and said, "Brother, you shall not be offended, although I speak unto you that which I have in charge even from all those that are here present, which is this: In the name of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ, and in the name of all that presently call you by my mouth, I charge you that you refuse not this holy vocation; but, as you tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ's kingdom, and the comfort of me whom you understand well enough to be oppressed by the multitude of labors, that you take the public office and charge of preaching, even as you look to avoid God's heavy displeasure and desire that He shall multiply his graces unto you." Then, addressing himself to the congregation, he said, "Was not this your charge unto me, and do ye not approve this vocation?" They all answered, "It was, and we approve it." Overwhelmed by the scene, Knox attempted to address the audience. His feelings mastered him; he burst into tears, and hastened from the church. Yet, though he feared and trembled, he accepted the office so solemnly and unexpectedly laid upon Knox's first preaching. On the day appointed he appeared in the pulpit, and took his text from Daniel vii. 25: "And he shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws," a choice which reveals directly his view of the papacy, and the confidence with which he anticipated its overthrow.

Knox's ministerial work, entered upon by him so hastily, was interrupted just as suddenly. St. Andrew's Castle was attacked by a French fleet, and its garrison compelled to surrender. They, and Knox along with them, were made prisoners of war, carried to France, and sentenced to work upon the galleys. Fastened by chains, they were exposed to all

the indignities with which papists were accustomed to treat those whom they called heretics. Their confinement lasted nineteen months, in which time Knox and his comrades were visited with all kinds of inducements and threats, in order to turn them from their faith. At last, by the intercession of Edward Sixth, they were set free. Knox repaired to England, and received an appointment at once from the deeply loved and greatly cherished king as one of his preachers. In this office he served two years at Berwick and Newcastle. The next two he was in London, as one of the six royal chaplains appointed by the privy council. He was even named as bishop of Rochester, but declined the preferment. Already long before his visit to Geneva, Knox was at heart a Presbyterian. After a sojourn of five years in England, during which he assisted Cranmer in reforming the church's doctrine and worship, he married Marjory Bowes, a lady of good family, whom he had met during his residence at Berwick.

On the death of good king Edward and the accession of the cruel and bigoted Mary (1553), Knox was forced to think of his personal safety.¹ He is found in Geneva (1554), cementing a friendship with Calvin, which remained unbroken as long as they both lived. He writes at this period, "Albeit that I have in the beginning of this battle appeared to play the faint-hearted and feeble soldier (the cause I remit to God), yet my prayer is that I may be restored to the battle again." At the close of this year he received a call to be minister to the English congregation at Frankfort-on-the-Main. By reason of disputes there, in reference to the use of the English liturgy and divers ceremonies, he felt obliged to give up his office. The next year (1555) we find him once more on the shores of Scotland, "restored to the battle again." He stayed in his home but a short time. He found Scotland groaning under persecution, but hardly ready for deliverance. Having received an invitation to Geneva from his exiled countrymen, he returned to that city (July, 1556), and remained there until the beginning of 1559. Though parted from his native land, his heart yearned towards his countrymen. He employed his pen to comfort them in their trials, and to strengthen their Christian constancy. At this period Knox published his renowned "First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women." Its occasion was the tyranny of Bloody Mary, as the English queen was called, on account of the number of executions under her reign. The open declarations of this book against women's rule caused its author serious embarrassment afterwards, during the reign of Elizabeth in England and Mary Stuart in Scotland. Mary of England dying, and Elizabeth's accession opening brilliant pros-

Knox with Calvin.

¹ Knox's wife, Marjory, remained in her home until 1556, and then joined her husband and shared his fortunes, dying in Edinburgh, 1560. She was the mother of two sons. In 1564 Knox married a daughter of Lord Ochiltree, whom he left a widow, with three daughters.

pects to Protestantism, Knox took his final farewell of Geneva, and set out for his native country (January, 1559). He found Scotland ready to cast off the Roman yoke, which had now become hateful to the entire nation. The luxury, depravity, and tyranny of the clergy had estranged the people. Their avarice and pride had excited the enmity of the nobility. A succession of cruelties against the reformed, culminating in the burning alive of an old man named Walter Mill, had awakened sympathy for their victims. The attempts of the queen regent, Mary Guise, ^{Knox preaches} to extirpate Protestants by French assistance roused Scottish courage and patriotism. Knox, after his election by the Edinburgh Protestants as their preacher, went on a crusade against popery throughout divers cities of the kingdom. His manly and telling preaching created the most astonishing result. The people rose up, tore the images out of the churches, and in some places, going beyond the wish or purpose of the reformers, destroyed a number of convents. Finally, after the queen regent's death, the Scotch Parliament assembled (August 1, 1560). Accepting the religious situation, it asked from the reformers a confession of their faith as opposed to popish errors. This was very promptly prepared by Knox and his associates. No opposition being raised by the popish bishops, the confession was approved by Parliament (August 17th), and the Protestant religion formally established. In connection therewith Knox prepared "The Book of Discipline," with the aim to establish a constitution for the reformed church of Scotland. The book in its foundation thought and plan favors presbyterian government. It closely resembles the Geneva and French books, such changes being introduced as were required to adapt it to the institutions of Scotland. It recognizes no office above the pastorate; yet, till the presbyteries were constituted, there were to be men known as superintendents, to attend to planting churches and to overseeing great districts. Doctors and teachers of theology were also recognized as church officers. Each pastor was to be supported in church rule by a company of ordained elders, and in the administration of secular matters by deacons. All these officers were regularly installed after election by the people. The courts of the church were the session, presbytery, synod, and general assembly. The public worship was to be held according to the directory modeled on the pattern of Geneva. This constitution, though accepted by the church, was not recognized by the civil power. This was due to the avarice of the nobility, who raised objections against appropriating the revenues of the old church, as fittingly proposed by Knox, to the support of religion and education.

By the arrival of queen Mary Stuart at Edinburgh (August, 1561), ^{Knox and Mary} our reformer was engaged in a new conflict. The young ^{Stuart} and beautiful queen was received by her subjects with huzzas. But she brought from France a spirit steeped in the prejudices of

the Romish church, and a resolution, formed in concert with the house of Lorraine, to restore the old religion in her dominions. Accordingly, she prepared to celebrate high mass in Holyrood Chapel the first Sunday after her arrival. The excitement produced by this was immense, for the mass had been forbidden by Parliament as gross idolatry. Knox looked on the revival of the forbidden rite as a step towards the overthrow of the reformation so happily begun. He declared from his pulpit the next Sunday that "one mass was more fearful unto him than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm of purpose to suppress the whole religion." On account of this and other sharp speeches he was summoned to an interview with the queen. She charged him with stirring up her subjects against her, and among other things upbraided him with sedition, by reason of his book on women's government. He vindicated himself from the charge of disloyalty. The conversation then turned on the nice point of popular resistance to civil power. Knox maintained that a ruler might be resisted, illustrating by the case of a father who, through madness, tried to slay his children. "Now, madame, if the children arise, join together, apprehend the father, take the sword from him, bind his hands, and keep him in prison till the frenzy be over, think you, madame, that the children do any wrong? Even so, madame, is it with princes that would murder the children of God that are subject unto them." Dazed by the boldness of this answer, the queen sat some time in silent stupor, and then said, "Well, then, I perceive that my subjects shall obey you, and not me, and will do what they please, and not what I command." "God forbid," replied the reformer, "that ever I take upon me to command any to obey me, or to set subjects at liberty to do whatever pleases them. But my travail is that both princes and subjects may obey God. Queens should be nursing mothers to the church." "But you are not the church that I will nourish," said the queen. "I will defend the church of Rome, for it is, I think, the true church of God." "Your will, madame, is no reason, neither doth your thought make the Roman harlot to be the true and immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ." "My conscience is not so," said the queen. "Conscience, madame, requires knowledge, and I fear that right knowledge you have none." "But I have both heard and read." "So, madame, did the Jews who crucified Christ. Have you heard any teach but such as the pope and the cardinals have allowed? You may be assured that such will speak nothing to offend their own estate." "You interpret the Scriptures in one way," said the queen, evasively, "and they in another; whom shall I believe, and who shall be judge?" "You shall believe God," replied Knox, "who plainly speaketh in his Word, above your majesty and the most learned papists of all Europe." He offered to show that papal doctrine had no foundation in God's Word. "Well," said she, "you may perchance have opportunity therefor sooner than you think." "Assur-

edly," said Knox, "if ever I get that in my life, I shall get it sooner than I believe; for the ignorant papist cannot patiently reason, and the learned and crafty papist will never come in your audience, madame, to have the ground of his religion searched out." At the close of this singular conversation, the reformer, as he took leave of the queen, with reverent obeisance said, "I pray God, madame, that you may be blessed within the commonwealth of Scotland as greatly as ever Deborah was in the commonwealth of Israel."

Some time after this, on the news of the massacre of the Protestants of Vassy, by the queen's uncle, the duke of Guise, Mary gave her foreign servants a brilliant ball, continuing the dance till the late hours. Knox expressed himself upon this in severe terms from the pulpit, and was again summoned before the queen. To vindicate himself Knox repeated his sermon to Mary, who at its close uttered a warning to him. "He is not afraid," murmured one of her attendants. "Why should the pleasing face of a gentlewoman affray me?" said he, regarding them with a sarcastic frown. "I have looked in the faces of many angry men, and yet have not been affrayed above measure." While Knox had reason to be disturbed under Mary's rule, she and her papal advisers had equal reason to be in dread of the fearless reformer. At every sign of ^{Knox's heroic} danger to the Reformation cause, he blew the alarm. He ^{position.} cheered the desponding, exhorted the wavering, and pointed out the unfaithful. We can obtain a picture of the effect of his pulpit efforts from the report of an English ambassador, who says in a letter to secretary Cecil, "I assure you the voice of one man can put more life into us in one hour than six hundred trumpeters blowing incessantly in our ears."

The last interview of the reformer with the unhappy princess was stormier than the preceding, and on both sides very characteristic. He had wounded the queen deeply by his discourse against her marriage with the unprincipled and unfortunate Darnley. Never had princess been treated as she was, she passionately exclaimed. She had borne his severe speeches, she had sought his favor by all means. "And yet," said she, "I can never be quit of you. I vow to God I shall once be revenged." With these words she burst into tears. Her attendants tried to soothe her excitement, resorting to all kinds of courtly flatteries. In the midst of the scene the stout, unbending spirit of the reformer showed itself. He stood unmoved in presence of beauty and royalty though bathed in tears. After the queen had vented her emotions, he proceeded to defend himself. Out of his pulpit, he said, few had occasion to be offended with him. He could hardly see his own boys weep when he corrected them for their faults; far less could he rejoice in her majesty's tears. But in the pulpit he was not his own master, but bound to obey Him who commanded him to speak plainly and flatter no flesh on the face of the earth.

He had only discharged his duty, and was forced, therefore, rather to see her tears than hurt his conscience or betray the commonwealth. Knox's defense only inflamed the queen's anger. She ordered him to withdraw. While he awaited the queen's pleasure in an adjoining apartment, among the queen's ladies, he could not forbear gently speaking of the extravagance of their dress. "O fair ladies, how pleasing were this life of yours if it should ever abide, and then in the end that we might pass to heaven with all this gay gear! Fye on that knave, Death, who comes whether we will or will not!"

The enemies of Knox soon took opportunity to satisfy Mary's wrath by bringing against him a charge of high treason. He was accused of writing circular letters to the leading Protestant nobles, inviting them to be present at the trials of two persons who were accused of disturbing the celebration of mass. His best friends, seeing the peril in which he was, counseled Knox to throw himself on the queen's mercy. This he utterly refused, conscious of having done his duty. On the day appointed, he appeared before an extraordinary assembly of counselors and nobles, who were to investigate the matter. When the queen took her place in the council, and saw Knox standing uncovered at the end of the table, she could not withhold an expression of triumph. She burst into loud laughter, and said, pointing to him, "That man made me weep, and never shed a tear. Now will I see if I can make him weep." Knox, unmoved by the imposing concourse, maintained his cause with such dexterity, and exposed the danger of Protestants from papal machinations so tellingly, that, although his judges were in part his personal enemies, he was honorably acquitted, to Mary's anger and mortification. "That night," writes Knox in his history, "was neither dancing nor fiddling in the court, for madame was disappointed of her purpose, which was to have John Knox in her will, by vote of her nobility."

Knox charged
with high treason.

When the murder of Rizzio, Mary's favorite, brought the queen's displeasure upon the Protestant nobility, Knox thought it prudent, on account of the hatred cherished against him, to leave Edinburgh and to withdraw to Ayrshire. Soon, however, the crimes and misfortunes of the unhappy Mary, following one upon another in quick succession, opened the way for his return. He had found no stronger supporter among the Scotch nobility than James, earl of Murray, the regent of the kingdom,—"a truly good man," as archbishop Spottiswood writes, and worthy of a place among the best rulers Scotland ever had. Even to-day he is honored as the "good regent." The very virtues of Murray had, in this rude, disturbed period, made him enemies. His overthrow was plotted, and in January, 1570, he was shamefully slain in the streets of Linlithgow. The sorrow of Knox over this sad event was increased by other circumstances which clouded the closing days of his life. He was taken soon

after with paralysis, and never entirely recovered. He was at conflict with the party which adhered to the exiled and imprisoned queen. He was loaded with reproaches and calumnies by the friends of popery. He was troubled by coldness, apostasy, and self-seeking in religious things on the part of the rulers. His soul was rent with anguish at the news of the massacre of the Protestants in Paris, and throughout France, on the night of St. Bartholomew's. The old warrior, weak in body and worn in spirit, sighed for release. "Weary of the world" and "longing for departure" are expressions constantly recurring in all that he wrote at this period. His life was again in peril. On one occasion a shot was fired at the window where he usually sat. The bullet struck the lamp in front of him, and buried itself in the ceiling of the room. He withdrew for a time to St. Andrew's. Naught, however, quenched the ardor
Faithful unto of his soul, or shook his steadfastness. He continued till the death. last to write, as he said, "with his dying hand," and to preach with that ardor which even his infirmity could not destroy. "In the opening of his text," writes excellent James Melville, who heard him at St. Andrew's, "he was moderate the space of half of an half hour; but when he entered to application, he made me so grew [thrill] and tremble that I could not hold a pen to write. He was very weak. I saw him every day of his doctrine go hulie and fear [slowly and warily], with a furring of masticks about his neck, a staffe in the ane hand, and guid godly Richard Ballanden, his servant, holding up the other arm, from the abbey to the parish kirk, and by the said Richard and another servant lifted up to the pulpit, where he behooved to lean, at his first entry. But ere he had done with his sermon he was sae active and vigorous that he was lyke to ding the pulpit in blads [beat the pulpit in pieces], and flie out of it."

The reformer's precious life, nevertheless, ran quickly to its close. He returned to Edinburgh, and preached his last sermon in the church of the Tolbooth, at the installation of Lawson, his colleague and successor. When with loving but trembling voice he had uttered the benediction, he descended from the pulpit, and, leaning on an attendant, crept down the street, which was lined with the congregation. Anxious to take the last look at their beloved pastor, they followed him till he entered, for the last time, that little house in the Canongate, which even to our day has been preserved in memory of the reformer. In the closing days his spirit was clouded by gloomy temptations. To such a spirit as his they were as painful as death itself. He soon mastered these, and was able to give a testimony to the truth of the gospel, which he had preached so faithfully, to his elders and many friends who visited him on his dying bed. To each and all he gave suitable admonitions. At last his speech began to fail. He desired his wife to read him the fifteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians. "Is not that a comfortable chapter?"

said he. "Oh, what sweet and salutary consolation the Lord has afforded me from that chapter." "Now, for the last time, I commend my soul, spirit, and body [touching three of his fingers as he spoke the words] into thy hand, O Lord." Then he said to his wife, "Read where I cast my first anchor." She read the seventeenth chapter of John's Gospel. He lay quiet for some hours. At ten o'clock they read the evening prayer, from the "Directory for Worship." When they asked him whether he heard the prayers, he replied, "Would to God that you and all men had heard them as I have heard them. I praise God for that heavenly sound." About eleven o'clock he gave a deep sigh, and said, "Now ^{Knox's last} it is come." His faithful servant, Richard, saw that he was ^{words.} speechless, and wished him to give them a sign that he died in peace. Knox raised his hand, and signing twice expired without a struggle. Dying at sixty-seven (November 24, 1572), he was not so oppressed by years as by his great bodily labors and his great spiritual cares. His remains were laid in St. Giles Churchyard. As the body was lowered into the vault, regent Morton pronounced his epitaph: "There lies he who never feared the face of man."

John Knox's most prominent qualities have been brought out in his story. Though austere, he was not fierce or revengeful; though decided in his purposes, and bold, strong, and unflinching in action, he yet overflowed with the milk of human kindness. He lives to us a reformer of heroic zeal, a preacher of power, a writer of fertility and force, a Christian of profound piety.¹ — T. M.

LIFE XXIV. WILLIAM OF ORANGE.

A. D. 1533—A. D. 1584. LAICAL LEADER, — HOLLAND.

THE bright crown on the brow of Charles Fifth had a rich jewel in the seventeen Netherland provinces which after 1500 were a part of the Hapsburg inheritance. Their numerous, well-fortified cities had a persevering, industrious population. By skill in all kinds of labor, by busy trading, and by attendance upon their excellent schools, their people had grown intelligent and rich. Great sympathy had been felt by them with

¹ The memory of the reformer, which from varied causes had fallen into oblivion, or been loaded in Scotland by a mass of calumnies, was by the labor of his biographer, the late Dr. MacCrie, again revived. In his *Life of John Knox*, he has dispersed the clouds of prejudice around that honored name, and raised a monument to the Scottish reformer, more glorious and enduring than memorials of brass or marble. The aim of his publication was not only to justify John Knox's character, but to renew a universal interest in the cause which Knox championed. The name of John Knox is now, what it was once before, a rallying call for all friends of the faith and polity of the Scotch Reformation. Knox left many writings behind, some of them polemic, others practical, the majority suggested by occurrences in his life. His largest and most important work is his *History of the Reformation*. A new and beautiful edition of this, with valuable notes, has, along with his other works, been published by Mr. David Laing, of Edinburgh.

the reforming efforts of the fifteenth century. When, therefore, in the sixteenth century, the Reformation came like a sudden tempest over the West, the Netherlands presented an open door in many places — in the cloisters of the Augustines, among the rest — to the preaching of the gospel. Luther's Bible was soon translated into Dutch, and read with diligence. Small evangelic churches were gathered here and there, especially in the cities. There entered a current of Calvinistic reforming influences, chiefly by way of France. Lutheran elements, at the same time, were coming down from Germany.

Charles Fifth, a native of Ghent, was strongly attached to the Netherlands. All the more he supposed that what he had in vain attempted in Germany, the cleansing of his empire from heresy, he must carry through at any cost in the provinces. He therefore put to death the confessors of the gospel there by hundreds and by thousands. When unnumbered victims had fallen, there was a fresh beginning made by the imperial Inquisition, which had as yet failed of its purpose. By an edict of September 25, 1550, all heretics were to be killed: anabaptists and relapsed heretics to be burned alive, women heretics to be buried alive, the heads of the others to be put upon pillars and their goods forfeited. After the peace of Passau (1552) and of Augsburg (1555), the emperor saw that he had failed to establish a Roman Catholic empire. He was weary. Four weeks after the religious peace (October 28, 1555), in his palace in Brussels, surrounded by his magnates, Charles gave over his government into the hands of his son Philip.

The era when Orange arose. There have been tyrant rulers, history records, in nearly all countries, but above all of them, at least in modern times, Philip has attained a peculiar eminence. Others have been pitiless and immoderately self-willed in their rule, but yet have shown some signs of a nobler nature. Philip reveals not the slightest trait of manhood to soften the picture of the worst despot ever known by a Christian people. He renewed at once (1555) the terrible edict of 1550. He was resolved to extirpate heresy in the Netherlands by the hands of the executioner. Philip did not blind himself to the difficulties in his way. He saw that he must be at peace with other lands, and hence as quickly as possible ended a war with France, in which he was involved. The French army had been beaten (August, 1557) at St. Quentin's and Gravelines by the count of Egmont. Instead of seizing upon the booty he had won, Philip made offers of peace. The noted cardinal Granvelle, a cold, sly, shrewd diplomatist, without a religious hair on his head, said, in the name of Philip, to the cardinal of Lorraine, when they met in Peronne, that the kings of Spain and France were alike concerned in the duty of rooting out heretics. He began a negotiation, which was further prosecuted by the duke of Alba before Henry Second himself. As personal sureties for the faithful performance by Philip of certain stipulations,

several of his nobles journeyed to Paris, and among them William of Orange. The French king, supposing him a trusted participant in the purposes of Philip, did not hesitate, when on a hunt with him in the forest of Vincennes, to speak of the plan devised by himself and the duke of Alba. William of Orange to his horror heard that nothing less was intended than a second Sicilian vespers, in which the Protestant chiefs should in one day be blotted from both kingdoms. The carrying out of this plan was frustrated by the splinter of Montgomery's spear which entered the eye of Henry in a tournament at Paris, and caused his death. Nevertheless, the plan had this immense result: that it first started William of Orange upon a road where he soon found himself forced to give battle with that reactionary force which threatened all the later civilization of West Europe, and thus to become the saviour of Protestantism in Holland, the founder of the modern Netherlands, and the bulwark of civil and religious liberty.

In the lovely valley of the Dill, which flows into the Lahn near Wetzlar, lies the village of Dillenburg, with its ancient crumbling castle, whose towers gleam afar. Here William of Orange His birth and early years. first saw the light. He was the eldest son of Count William of Nassau-Dillenburg and his second wife, Juliana von Stolberg. When a boy he inherited from his cousin Renatus the sovereign principality of Orange. His education was intrusted to queen Mary of Hungary, a sister of the emperor Charles, and viceroy of the Netherlands, with her residence in Brussels. His especial teacher was a brother of Granvelle. Thus William, the son of a Protestant father, was educated a Catholic. The courtly youth was soon conspicuous among the young nobles at Brussels through his great talent and readiness. He was noticed by the emperor, and distinguished by marks of favor and confidence. They were justified by his success both as a soldier and a diplomatist. When Charles retired, William was made, by Philip, viceroy of Holland, Seeland, and Utrecht.

The prince's position in Brussels was thus a lofty one. He possessed in unusual measure the qualities which fit a man to rule others and become master of the situation. His keen mind penetrated the thoughts and efforts of his neighbors. He maintained, meanwhile, great cheerfulness and affability of manner, yet with a reticence and reserve which won him the surname of "the Silent." He was a complete cavalier and a courtier, gladly received in the halls of the imperial palace in Brussels, and moving there with the most finished elegance of manner. It suited him at the beginning to play the wealthy prince. He surrounded himself with a court frequented by the nobles of Germany. He indulged in luxuries and splendor such as belonged to his position, and expended upon them more than his income justified. This he did not only when, as an ambassador, he had to represent his master, but in his own home, where the choicest entertainment was ever afforded. He was able for a long time to con-

tract debts without troubling himself respecting them. He took no interest in religious matters, showing at this period thorough indifference. His aims were those of the skilled and clever statesman, who wanted influential position, and to attain his aims used such means as were offered. The inner life of Orange first began gradually to have a new character when, in the midst of his outer career, with its perplexities, he came upon the problem which he was required to solve. Of this problem the first suggestion gleamed on his mind in the forest of Vincennes.

Returning to Brussels, William found Philip decided to leave the Netherlands. At an assembly of the states, in Ghent, the king made request for a tax of three millions. The states granted it, but with the condition that the Spanish troops, arbitrarily introduced into the Netherlands, be removed. In support of the desire expressed by all the provinces, the nobles, led by William of Orange, viceroy of Holland, Seeland, and Utrecht, by count Egmont, viceroy of Flanders and Artois, and by count Von Horn, admiral of Flanders, pointed out the injustice of quartering foreign troops in Holland, and the unprecedented outrages which these committed upon the citizens. The king was constrained to grant the request. He departed to Spain, leaving the rule to his half-sister, Margaret of Parma. Brought up with Ignatius Loyola as her confessor, and familiarized with the Macchiavellian policy of Philip, she was not without judgment, nor lacking in better impulses. She had for advisers in her councils of state and finance, and in her privy council, William of Orange and his friends, counts Egmont and Horn.

For her chief adviser she was given, by Philip, the eminent representative of absolutism, bishop Granvelle (made cardinal January 24, 1561), with count Berlaymont and the adroit jurist, Viglius van Ayta, both thoroughly devoted to the bishop. Margaret and Granvelle had been secretly instructed, in the face of the guaranteed rights and liberties of the provinces, not to send the Spanish troops away, to summon the states as seldom as possible, to impose the taxes required on the separate provinces, and to adopt the most relentless measures towards heretics.

The last point was first in the minds of the king and the cardinal. The execution of a scheme of the emperor Charles was counted necessary. The four bishoprics of the Netherlands were clearly seen to be too large for efficiency. They must be divided, and the number multiplied. In conjunction with the pope, who published a bull in the Netherland bishoprics (May 12, 1559), fourteen new bishoprics were erected, and endowed with the incomes of certain rich convents. The new bishops received instruction to maintain the Inquisition to the utmost, in their districts, by special agents.

The public mind received the innovations with the very worst grace. It was regarded by all ranks and classes as a measure in the interests of the Inquisition, and as a usurpation. The old bishops complained be-

cause their territories and incomes were curtailed. The abbots were angry at the unjustified and illegal diversion of their endowments. The nobles lamented that by the increase of the number of bishops their own power in the legislature was diminished. The people groaned over the streams of blood which the hydra-headed Inquisition poured out in all the cities. The king's stratagem already seemed to be breaking up the old order of affairs. The people in several districts rose up and opposed the entrance of the new bishops into their offices.

Meanwhile, Protestantism, in spite of all the butcheries of the Inquisition, was making headway in the country. Many of the youth who had studied in Geneva returned, bringing evangelical doctrines. Preachers were sent thither from France. Many Huguenots, exiling themselves after the massacre of Vassy (1562), were settled in Antwerp. Calvinistic sentiment constantly gained strength. A confession of faith, prepared by the Walloon preacher, Guido de Bres, and others, was revised in accordance with the views of the Geneva preachers, and sent to king Philip. In the midst of heroic conflict with the Spanish Inquisition, the evangelic church of the Netherlands, whose worship was held in forests and out-of-the-way places, began an organization after the Geneva pattern, with presbyteries and synods. A synod held May 1, 1564, in Antwerp, exhibits in its articles a complete church organization of the Calvinistic order.

We must distinguish between this evangelic movement, advancing quietly, and for the most part secretly, and making entrance into nearly all the cities of the Netherlands, and the exasperation expressed loudly on all sides at the Inquisition, and at Granvelle, who was regarded as the embodiment of Spanish tyranny. Chief among the representatives of the nation advanced the prince of Orange, as the leader of the portion of the nobility that arrayed itself against the misrule of Spain. Counts Egmont and Horn stood by his side. To these three were added Hoogstraten, Meghem, Arenberg, Mansfeld, Berghes, Montigny, Brederode, and other noblemen. Orange, with the counts, earnestly petitioned of the king (March 11, 1563) to remove Granvelle. When the petition was refused, he withdrew for a year from the council. At last Granvelle's removal was effected (March, 1564).

The Inquisition continued its bloody work as before. The council of Trent had decreed the persecution of heretics. Its condemnatory decrees were published in the Netherlands, in spite of the efforts of Orange and the nobility. The increasing confusion and complication of affairs endangered so greatly the safety not only of individuals, but of the nation, that a great number of the nobles, to ward off the peril, entered into a league named the "Compromise." Its author was really the knightly and accomplished Philip von Marnix, lord of Aldegonde, who had been a student in Geneva, and embraced there the evangelic faith. It was declared in the compact that inasmuch as a throng of foreigners,

Opposes papal
persecution.

using the Catholic religion as a cover for their ambition and greed, had influenced the king, against his oath and despite the assurances given his subjects, to increase the severity of the laws, and set up the Inquisition by force of arms, they, the vassals of the king and nobles of the nation, were obliged to form a league, and by oath bind themselves to prevent the establishment of the Inquisition with all the means in their power. Yet they wished solemnly to testify that they purposed naught that was opposed to the honor of God, the service of the king, or the good of the land.

The regent was in terror, seeing the league, to the number of four hundred armed men, approach her palace (April 5, 1566). They insisted first on the repeal of the religious edicts, and received in return from Berlaymont their nickname of Gueux, or Beggars. Their imposing movement was sure to prove momentous. This Orange had foreseen. He had admonished them of it before they came to the regent. He had refrained from subscribing their compact. He was against violent measures, which would make new complications. As chief of the nobility, he would maintain their cause, and yet fulfill his duty as an officer of the government. He found the task a difficult one, and soon was forced to more decided measures.

In an assembly at St. Trond (July, 1566), the nobility and the Protestants of Antwerp, who for a month had been holding public meetings, formed a solemn fraternal alliance. Orange saw here a very great danger. He considered the Calvinists too fierce and radical. He thought he might endure the followers of the Augsburg Confession. In this feeling he wrote to the league, admonishing them against excesses. But the wrath of the people of Lower Flanders was roused by the Inquisition, by sermons on the idolatry of image worship, and by the imposture of transubstantiation. The mob, in a fierce image-breaking riot, sacked the churches, broke the altars and images, taking away money and jewels, burning mass books and vestments, and threatening the bishops themselves with sore chastisements.

Orange saw that fanaticism would ruin the country, and strove for the removal of the Inquisition and the placing of the opposite religions upon an equal footing. He addressed a memorial from Utrecht to the states of Holland (November, 1566), recommending as the best means of establishing peace freedom in religion, or the adoption of the Augsburg Confession, or at least toleration of Protestantism. Toleration thenceforward was William's watchword. A new course had been adopted by the regent. She tried to make political capital out of the image-breaking, at which some of the league stood aghast. She went to work in earnest to subdue the nobility and the nation. Protestant assemblies were forbidden. Where they existed, they were dispersed. Spanish garrisons were placed in the cities. Protestant chapels were torn down.

Their joists were framed into gallows to hang Protestants upon. The Knights of the Golden Fleece were required to swear that they would serve the king against all persons whatsoever, and would renounce every alliance that was in opposition to this oath. Egmont and others took the oath. Orange declined.

William, well informed by his secret agents at the court of Philip respecting the purposes of the latter, had reached an hour of ^{His decisive} decision. The "Compromise" had now lost all its power ^{step.}

(1566). Egmont, with the vain and weak, had been won to the side of Spain. Orange, in his isolation, found himself forced to the side of the Protestants. He saw that his cause and theirs were one, and that his was the task to establish through the religious liberty of Holland her political liberty. He did not yet perceive that the contest, if victorious, would lead to the founding of a new nation. He kept for a while his old relation to Philip. Without power to prevent violence to his people, he laid down his office, and retired to his home in Germany. He had written first to Philip, assuring him that he would not decline to give his life to his service in any just cause.

Philip despised such conscientious loyalty. He preferred to rely on ten thousand Spanish and Italian troops, who were on their way to the Netherlands, under the grim duke of Alba (1567). Received by Egmont on the frontier, Alba was welcomed by him to Brussels (in August), and at once, trampling upon all the rights and liberties of the states, opened his "Council of Disturbances," named by the nation the "Council of Blood," and began the eighteen thousand executions of which he afterwards boasted. Egmont and Horn, craftily seized at a merry banquet, were beheaded within a year upon the Brussels market-place (June 5, 1568). William, at whom Alba especially aimed, was summoned by the Council of Blood (January 19, 1568) to come before the same for trial. The penalty of refusing was perpetual banishment and forfeiture of his entire estate. Very naturally he failed to appear, and besides, in his position as a sovereign prince and a Knight of the Golden Fleece, he impugned the authority of the Council of Disturbances. His property in the Netherlands was at once confiscated by Alba, and his eldest son, who was a student in Louvain, was imprisoned and sent to Spain.

An edict was issued by the Council of Blood (February 16, 1568), by which the people of the Netherlands, with some few exceptions, were declared guilty of treason and heresy, and arraigned before the court of the Inquisition. The most dreadful bloodshed prevailed in the land; almost the whole reformed population became fugitives. In the north, many cities were well-nigh desolate. In the south the rancor, the dislike, felt by the Walloons against the true Hollanders, along with the intrigues of the popish nobility, almost annihilated the reformed faith.

The prince of Orange, finding that nothing save war could help the

Netherlands, was now untiring in enlisting an army for their deliverance. He had no thought of freeing them from Philip's rule, but only from the Inquisition and the arbitrary power of the viceroy. He purposed the restoration of constitutional government. Two armies, collected in Germany, and led by him and his brother Louis, entered the country. At ^{Seeks freedom by battle.} first they had some success. Directly all seemed lost, save by battle. William's confidence in his cause. His brother (Adolphus) had been slain, and he was forced back to the frontier of France. After a time freedom found a new hope, on which William reposed. Many Netherlanders who had been driven across to England, under stress of their great poverty, undertook to fight their foes in detail upon the sea. At first these "sea-beggars" were only pirates. William soon perceived what great ends might be attained by this naval warfare against the Spaniards. He gathered the vessels of the sea-beggars into a fleet, gave them letters of marque, and made count William von der Mark their commander, who had the fortune (April 1, 1572) to capture Brill, the key to Holland.

This victory made a decided impression on the minds of the Netherlanders. Nearly all the north rose in arms, placing themselves under the banner of Orange as the viceroy of the king. William advanced over the Rhine in the summer of 1572, with twenty-five thousand troops, and commenced a heroic contest, in which more than once he was on the brink of ruin. Yet he appeared ever as represented in his medals, "Sævis tranquillus in undis," and after each hard battle rose again with heroic strength to let his enemy know the power of his blow.

In the first years of the struggle, or till 1575, Philip's rule was recognized. The war was therefore properly a war for religious liberty; not for the reformed faith, or for the Protestant, but for religion in general. Orange was the embodiment of this sentiment of Christian toleration, and especially at the time when he renounced popery (1573) and embraced the reformed confession. The prince seemed to have won the most brilliant success when Requesens, the successor of Alba (in 1573), and viceroy in the south, had died (1576). The Spanish troops were unpaid, and undertook to pay themselves by plunder. For defense against them, the southern provinces decided to unite with the northern. The "Pacification of Ghent" was made, with the intention of erecting a single state, embracing all seventeen provinces, but preserving the separate rights of the provincial territories. In regard to religion, the ruling idea was toleration, and possibly the equality of the reformed and Roman confessions in all the provinces. The enforcement of this scheme seemed hopeful when the Prince of Orange, soon after, by choice of the states, was made "Maintainer of the Peace" in Brabant, with almost dictatorial powers. Alas, Spanish intrigue excited local feeling in the provinces, largely Romanist, and craftily induced them to ignore the "pacification." Artois,

Douay, and Hennegau adopted a new compact for themselves (January 5, 1579), resolving to maintain liberty, but not to tolerate the reformed worship. This led the seven Protestant provinces, Gelders, The Dutch Re-Zütphen, Holland, Seeland, Utrecht, Friesland, and Fris-^{public.}ian Ommeland, to combine, in accordance with William's advice, in the "Union of Utrecht" (January 23, 1579). They formed a Protestant commonwealth, which two years later threw off entirely the Spanish yoke, and became the foundation of the Dutch nation, which exists till this day. Its principles were the civil liberties of the several provinces, the union of all for their common ends, and the Protestant faith. The last was so vital that it was declared with truth by William, in his "Apology," that without loyalty to the Reformation the Netherland republic could not last a day.

The reformed faith now prevailed in the United Provinces, and could have free exercise. Alas, the thought entered the political rulers that a church independent of the state could not be allowed in their nation. A church government, which was published (1576) under authority of the prince of Orange, allowed congregations presbyterian rule and discipline, but denied them synodical self-control, since it was doubted if two headships could exist in a community. When, at the first Netherland national synod (at Dort, 1578), the attempt was made to give the church a perfectly free presbyterian constitution, with a national synod meeting every three years as the supreme authority, the project was rejected by the civil government. At a synod in Middleburg (1581) the question of the church's constitution was further considered, but without securing a united and free organization. Nothing was attained beyond provincial bodies. Presbyterian government in many congregations was very imperfect. From this sprang, in large part, the disquiet which arose in the church of Holland after 1600. Its origin was in the setting up of the state as the controlling power in the church.

Had the prince of Orange been allowed a longer life, church matters in the Netherlands might have been more happily arranged. Affairs at Will-^{iam's death.} He had appointed a commission (1581) to draft a church constitution on the basis of the views of the synod at Middleburg. The draft had been drawn up, but before any conclusion could be reached concerning it the hand of the assassin had brought the life of William to its close (July 10, 1584). The murderer, Balthasar Gerard, was a popish fanatic. Under the mask of a needy Protestant, he had introduced himself to the king, and received money. His confession testified that he was led into his crime by a Franciscan and a Jesuit. The whole land was overwhelmed by sorrow, for the "Father of the Netherlands" had been taken away.

The contest of which William was the great leader was none the less carried forward with untiring constancy. In the father's place rose his

oldest son, Maurice. When the Spaniards had been fearfully weakened, they finally were constrained to grant a twelve years' truce to the Netherlands, in 1609. From this date the freedom of the Netherlands may be considered established. (The formal recognition of the seven United Provinces as a free and independent nation was granted by Spain at the Peace of Westphalia.) From this truce, the state which had been created by William's power and wisdom developed in freedom and security the character which it had won under his leadership. The Netherlands were the first nation to grant freedom of conscience and toleration, to distinguish between political obligation and religious conviction. "Fugitives for conscience' sake from other nations," as Lechler writes,—"Jews from Spain and Portugal, like the parents of Spinoza; Socinians from Poland, like Samuel Crelle; Huguenots and Jansenists from France; Presbyterians, Quakers, and Episcopalians from England,—all betook themselves to the protection of the Netherlands. The United Provinces were the free land in which Cartesius, Spinoza, Becker, Bayle, and Leclerc could publish their belief. And to these provinces under William Third England owes the salvation of her Protestant liberties and her laws of toleration."—H. H.

THE CHURCH'S REFORMED PROGRESS.

PERIOD FIFTH. COMPRISING CENTURIES XVII.-XIX. (OR FROM THE END OF THE REFORMATION ERA TO THE PRESENT TIME). DIVISIONS OF THE PERIOD: CENTURIES XVII., XVIII., THE CHURCH'S REFORMED PROGRESS THROUGH EXTENDED INSTRUCTION IN DOCTRINE AND THROUGH THE BUILDING UP OF DENOMINATIONS; CENTURY XIX., THE CHURCH'S REFORMED PROGRESS THROUGH ENLARGED EFFORT IN MISSIONS, CHARITIES, SCHOOLS, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REFORMS, AND EVANGELICAL UNIONS.

LIFE I. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

A. D. 1594—A. D. 1632. LUTHERAN, — SWEDEN.

THE pure-hearted soldier, the heroic deliverer of the reformed church in Germany, was born in Stockholm, Sweden, December 9, 1594. He was the son of Charles Ninth, who was made king of Sweden (1604), after the dethronement of Sigismund, who had accepted the throne of Poland and become a Romanist. Charles was a zealous Lutheran and a grandson of Gustavus Vasa. The boy early inclined to affairs of state and to the army. Through his reforms the arms of Sweden were to win new glory. When fifteen years old, upon the breaking out of a war with Russia, he asked his father to let him lead the army. He was refused, but the very next year (1611) he was given an independent command in a war with Denmark. He carried through more than one affair successfully, surpassing even what was expected of him. His father dying this year (October 30th), Gustavus was declared of age by the estates of Sweden, and, though hardly seventeen, undertook the charge of the kingdom and the conduct of the war with Denmark, Russia, and Poland. His great military talents were soon shown. He revolutionized the army organization. He adopted and enforced new principles in respect to weapons, tactics, use of artillery, and discipline. He joined to all this the power of moral and religious feeling. Every regiment had a chaplain. Daily service was held not only as an act of worship, but as a measure of discipline, — one, however, that was readily accepted by the soldiers, by reason of their religious enthusiasm.

The youth's keen, true understanding of state affairs was shown in his finding in the youngest of his counselors, Axel Oxenstierna, the great

statesman, the man whose counsel he might follow in the greatest emergencies. Axel's coolness and caution were suited to make up for any rashness of the king, and to keep his ardor within bounds. The mere fact that Gustavus did not succumb to the three mighty foes whom his father left him served to indicate the ability of the youth and the lofty ^{Gustavus finds his life mission.} destiny that awaited him. Gustavus began to perceive this destiny when the war of religions in Germany, which was begun in 1618, gradually went against the Protestants, and the very existence of the evangelical church was (1629) placed in jeopardy. Gustavus was devoted to this church with a deep affection arising from profound conviction. In the full strength of his manhood, at thirty-five years of age, he decided, in face of the hugely increased power of the emperor, like a Luther in the face of the papacy, to carry out his long-considered and bold resolve to save the Protestants of Germany, who were on the very brink of destruction; to humble the emperor; and, if possible, to obtain the title of king of Rome and the succession to the emperorship of Germany, which had now been held so long by foreign princes who had done nothing for the German nation. That this last thought was in his mind must be granted, since it was shown afterwards. Nor is it one to be seriously reprehended, for if it was ever desirable that the imperial office should not be held by a Romanist nor by one of the Hapsburg family, it was especially so at that period. The Protestant princes then needed powerful assistance. Besides, the Swedes were kinsmen. The only question is, How did Gustavus Adolphus go to work to achieve the object named? History replies to this that to preserve Protestantism, and to obtain equal rights for it in Germany, was first and last his chief and most earnest aim. This, the facts prove, was ever put by him honestly and fairly in the foreground.

Luther's spirit of reformation lived anew in Gustavus Adolphus. Luther's word had shaken the world, and put the papacy on its defense. Gustavus's sword was to smite it anew. His task was the more needful and the more difficult, too, from the apathy of the Protestant princes. Yet in proportion as obstacles increase, do mental endowments increase to those who are called to meet them. This was eminently true of Gustavus Adolphus. His noble spirit shone forth in his personal appearance. Of pure German blood, he was of slender form, but majestic, towering stature. The dazzling fairness of his countenance was enhanced by the bloom of his cheeks. With his wealth of yellow hair, true German, and flowing upon his shoulders, joined his glorious eyes,—short-sighted, it is true, but none the less fiery and expressive. His countenance wore a majesty which commanded reverence. Earnestness, graciousness, and dignity characterized his glance, which, when animated, enraptured by its gentleness. The high-arched, nobly formed nose helped to give him the look of a hero. Resoluteness of will

and thorough understanding of his circumstances were added to his other mental powers. He showed in business affairs a judgment as profound as comprehensive. Hence his undertakings were circumspectly begun, carefully and energetically carried forward, steadfastly and perseveringly pushed to completion. His lofty mind was possessed also of a splendid imagination ; and with his sound judgment and insight was united the gift of eloquence. He thus rose above a man of talent to one of genius, — a glowing star shining before the eyes of the world. In the purity of morals which marks true greatness in man or prince, the Swedish king was an example to his generation. His personal courage and intrepid daring in face of danger were so noted as to cause his followers great concern. He was just in judging, by reason of his goodness of heart and strength of character. Schooled in wisdom, he made toleration a law of state, and in the lands which he subdued treated Romanists and Protestants gently and impartially, putting them upon a perfect equality. Nor would he have changed this rule, symmetrical as he was in character, had he lived longer, and well would the carrying out of it have been for Germany. For this cause his early death was so profoundly and universally lamented. It was a sign, people said, that the Germany of that day was not worthy of him. But let us briefly run over the story of his career. Builded up by his example, we shall be led to cry at his early death, “O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God ! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out !”

The love of Gustavus's youth was Ebba Brahe, daughter of the high bailiff of Sweden. To her he composed tender verses in the midst of dangerous campaigns, and with her would have shared his crown and kingdom, had not his stout-hearted mother, queen Christina, daughter of duke Adolf, of Schleswig-Holstein, prevented, and secured Ebba's marriage to her son's general, Jacob de la Gardie. Gustavus went on a visit to Germany, and in Berlin saw, for the first time, the His love leads him to Germany. princess Marie Eleanore, of whom his ambassador, Birkhold, had written him some two years before. She was sister of elector George William of Brandenburg, and second daughter of John Sigismund, then recently deceased. Five years younger than Gustavus, she passed for a perfect beauty, as charming as majestic in appearance, and was possessed of great taste and knowledge in the arts. Gustavus made a second journey to Berlin expressly, in 1620, and obtained from the elector's widow the hand of her daughter, wedding her in Stockholm, November 28th. His wife gave him the profoundest affection and respect. The happy union was tried only by his many absences in the wars, and by her tender solicitude for his life. This marriage helped turn Gustavus to a close inspection of the affairs of Germany. His military abilities were already generally known. After the battle of Prague (November 3, 1620), the

Spanish general, marquis Von Spinola, had declared, "Gustavus of Sweden is the only Protestant chief whom we dare not provoke." Gustavus could not regard the triumph of the emperor with indifference, since it affected his brother Protestants. He was too generous to shut his ears to the cries of the exiled princes of Mecklenburg, who asked aid from Sweden. These princes were, moreover, his neighbors and kinsmen. Nor could he overlook the danger to Sweden from the emperor taking the duchy of Pomerania, after the death of Bogislaus, the last of the ruling family. For the emperor had perverted a treaty made at Brandenburg, and possessed himself of Pomerania and Rügen. Gustavus took the burning of the Swedish fleet, with the offer of thirty-five thousand dollars as compensation, as a part of a far-reaching plan on the part of the Hapsburgs against Sweden. He regarded the pledge wrung from the Danish king, the ally of the Protestants (in the disgraceful Peace of Lübeck, May 12, 1629), that he would not meddle again in German affairs, as a prelude to the imperial designs against Sweden. Then, when the edict of restitution was published (March 6, 1629), restoring to the Romanists all the property and church endowments which had become Protestant since the year 1555, a measure which especially affected Northern Germany, what course was to be taken by so ardent a Protestant and so skilled a warrior as Gustavus Adolphus? Could he refuse help when Stralsund, which was the key of the Baltic, and had asked his protection, was hard pressed by Wallenstein? Could he disappoint the discouraged and perplexed Protestants of Germany, whose eyes were upon him? For though it be granted that his aid was not asked by the sleepy Protestant electors, he was the more ardently longed for by the lesser princes, the cities, and the people. Gustavus therefore armed, taking the advice of his council, and obtaining its consent to each important step, although not obliged to do so; for he desired, if misfortune came, not to bear it alone. The heart of Sweden was his, not only for the sake of what he was, but for the sake of what he had done for Swedish institutions, even amid severe wars, thus showing how much he thought of the advancement of his fellow-men.

Gustavus's army, formed in the Danish-Russian wars, was supplied with skillful generals, and made ready to march. A peace or an extended truce was made with each of the neighboring countries. The king then called the Swedish estates together (May 19, 1630), brought into their presence his little daughter, Christina, four years of age, as his heir, commended Takes his leave of Sweden. her to their allegiance, and bade them a touching farewell, foreboding that he should never more return. He had appointed throughout the whole kingdom three days of fasting and prayer,—the first Fridays of July, August, and September,—to supplicate God's blessing on his difficult enterprise. Long after Gustavus was dead, the church of Sweden kept up the observance of these days.

On setting out, the king's fleet was hindered by prevailing southwest

winds, and even after it had reached the high seas was obliged to return. The passage was made so tedious and difficult that fresh provisions had to be obtained from the Swedish sea-ports. Finally, just one hundred years after the presenting of the Confession of Augsburg, the king cast anchor (June 25, 1630), in the midst of a thunder-storm, at the little island of Ruden, by the most western of the three mouths of the Oder. The shore was ablaze in the night with fires kindled by the foe, who retired to his camp at Anklam. Gustavus stepped into a boat, and ordered a landing. It was effected, by the aid of flat boats, upon the island of Usedom. Gustavus first set foot upon the shore, fell on his knees, and poured his heart out in ardent prayer to God. He then seized a spade. While half the forces joined with him in throwing up defenses, the rest stood by their arms ready for battle. Eleven regiments were landed in the course of the night. The rest followed with cannon, baggage, and horses. Before noon an army fifteen thousand strong occupied a well-fortified camp, provided with artillery, around the little village of Peenemünde. General Leslie, in Stralsund, who in April had cleared the island of Rügen of the foe, joined the king, who at once drove the imperial troops off the islands of Usedom and Wollin, and made himself master of the mouths of the Oder. He obliged the old duke of Pomerania to give up Stettin to him (July 20th), and to secure to him, after the duke's death, the possession of Pomerania, until compensation was obtained for the expense of the war.

The trust in God shown by Gustavus in this bold enterprise, long considered though it was, is doubly wonderful. He was marching against an emperor who had put the Protestants down and mastered Germany, and who, as Gustavus knew, had an army four times larger than his own. With a king who was in the habit of calculating everything, this could not have been mere temerity. It must have come from his conviction that he was doing God's work. Gustavus also lacked money. France offered help, wishing to lessen the power of Hapsburg, but it was refused by Gustavus as long as its acceptance meant any injury to Germany or any subjection to France. This strength of spirit, which in a critital position refused French gold and braved a superior force, must it not have come from God? Though Gustavus knew that Germany, however exhausted, had more plentiful resources than poor Sweden, he generously declined to lay the country under contribution, like Wallenstein, or to quarter his soldiers upon the people. Add to this that in 1629 and 1630 the plague raged in Sweden, in Stockholm driving the court from the city, as had been the case in 1620, and the resolution of Gustavus must be ascribed to a lofty, irresistible motive. The very moment when Gustavus landed in North Germany the whole force of Wallenstein (removed from command September, 1630) and of Tilly was in arms, one hundred and

The source of
the king's
strength.

sixty thousand fighting men. Yet Gustavus did not remain on the defensive, as some advised, but moved forward to attack them; this, although he had five years earlier, when offered by France the command of an army against the emperor, asked for such an object seventy-five thousand men. What could it have been that made him so confident, even when his brother-in-law, the fearful elector of Brandenburg, was doubtful, and the elector John George of Saxony was coquetting with Austria? What save an inspiration from above?

The effort has been made to cast a shadow over the fair picture of Gustavus, as drawn by Protestants, by throwing on him the blame of the fall of Magdeburg (May 10, 1631). This is not just. He was throughout the siege of this strong and wealthy city anxious to relieve it. But he needed the support of the Brandenburg strongholds of Cüstrin and Spandau, and also the help of the Saxon army. The blame must rest on the two loitering electors. They gave the needed aid only when, after the sack of Magdeburg, their own capitals were threatened and surrounded. Not till Saxony was overrun by Tilly, and heavily oppressed, did John George in his extremity ask the aid of Gustavus, who

^{His first great} treated him more kindly than he deserved. He fought, at victory.

the desire of Saxony, the battle near Leipzig, or Breitenburg, and, in spite of the poor support and the shameful flight of the Saxons and their cowardly electors, he, with his Swedes, revenged on Tilly and Pappenheim the cruelty shown to Magdeburg. The battle (September 17, 1631) lasted from two o'clock in the afternoon until seven, and ended with the complete overthrow of the hitherto invincible marshal Tilly. Gustavus has been blamed because, after this grand victory, he did not at once march upon Vienna, to dictate peace to the emperor at the gates of his capital. He was advised to this by the unwarlike elector of Saxony, whom he had called back from his flight and treated most magnanimously. But as surely as Hannibal, after his victory of Cannæ, was withheld by sufficient reasons from attacking Rome, so we know that Gustavus, whose boldness was certain, was kept back from a tempting course by a superior knowledge of strategy. He preferred to march to Southwest Germany. There Saxony had proven unable, after proffering to do the work, to break or to weaken the power of the Romanist alliance known as "The League." Gustavus, marching on triumphantly, took Erfurt, fell upon Thüringia and Franconia, seized Würzburg, went by way of Rothenburg on the Tauber towards the Rhine, took Frankfort, passed over and took Mainz. Here and in Frankfort by turns he passed the winter, establishing his court and camp. Embassies from all the powers, and many of the highest German nobles, came to one whom all Europe now honored as a bright, propitious star. His patriotism in the midst of his success appears in his repelling demeanor to France, who would support him, but wanted to take Alsace.

He set a praiseworthy example which put to shame the German emperor's action in the peace negotiations at Münster at a later period.

The winter of 1631-32 passed in political negotiations, which proved the king as skilled in statesmanship as in war. On the 13th of March he left Mainz. His able general, Gustav Horn, who had, since January, been engaged in various expeditions, joined him, March 22d, at Kitzingen. His army numbered forty thousand men, and compelled the crippled force of Tilly to fall back to Ingolstadt. Gustavus appeared before Donauwörth March 26th, expelled the duke of Lauenburg, and gave the city a free constitution after a quarter of a century's subjection to Bavaria. He thus possessed himself of the bridge over the Danube, the key of Bavaria. He also took the bridge over the Lech. Tilly had entrenched himself in the village of Rain. The elector of Bavaria, with all his militia, was with him. Yet Gustavus took the place April 15th, Tilly falling mortally wounded. The king marched on to Augsburg April 24th without hindrance, making a solemn entry into the city, and taking an oath of allegiance from the citizens. On the 25th he hurried to Ingolstadt, behind whose stout walls the elector Maximilian was encamped. It was here that a ball from a twenty-four pounder passed close to the calf of the king's leg and through the belly of his horse, while the rider fell covered with blood and dust. Prince Max, according to Tilly's dying counsel, fell back to Regensburg before Gustavus could take that city, the key to Bohemia. In the beginning of May the king entered Old Bavaria. He was forced to use severity here by the hostile acts of the people, excited as they were by their priests. His soldiers, embittered by the malice shown, burned some villages in return for the killing of their comrades by the peasants. Gustavus took all the lowland, with Moosburg on the Isar, Landshut, and Freising, and on May 17th drew up his army in array before the walls of Munich. The keys of the city were at once surrendered to him. He remained in Munich three days, keeping his troops under strict discipline, and exacting a fine of three hundred thousand thalers. The Called to meet Wallenstein. distress of the allies of the emperor obliged the latter to restore Wallenstein (displaced at Regensburg, two years before, by the urgent request of the princes) to the supreme command, acceding to his oppressive conditions. The latter soon had an army of fifty thousand men, and drove the Saxons, with their inefficient and traitorous general Arnim, from Bohemia. He then marched upon Nürnberg, to prove as quickly as possible who was first in Germany, — he or the Swede. Gustavus, leaving Memmingen, marched after the Bavarians, who had left Regensburg and entered the Upper Palatinate. He reached Nürnberg June 18th, and Sulzbach June 22d. Gustavus made a treaty with the old city, wishing to spare it the fate of Magdeburg. He began then to besiege Wallenstein, who with sixty thousand men was intrenched between Stein

and Dombach, overlooking Nürnberg and the army of Gustavus. Upon August 31st the king, having been reinforced by duke Bernhard of Weimar, proffered battle, both armies then suffering from pestilence and hunger. Wallenstein chose to keep in his intrenchments, nor even after enduring a severe assault would he come out. But when Gustavus, to put an end to the suspense, left Wallenstein behind, and took up his march with drums beating, the latter set his camp on fire and directed his course to Coburg, Altenburg, and Leipzig. Gustavus, who had turned south, was called back by this movement. The plan of Wallenstein was to devastate Saxony during the winter, draw away its elector from the side of the Swedes, and in the spring overrun North Germany and Mecklenburg, cutting off the retreat of Gustavus, and crushing him. The latter by forced marches reached Arnstadt October 23d, and Erfurt October 28th. His queen overtook him in the market-place of the latter city, and received from him the day following his farewell kiss. When, upon November 11th, Gustavus reached Naumburg, the people at his entry fell upon their knees before him, extended to him their hands, kissed the hem of his garment, and proclaimed him their saviour. Aghast at their idolatrous worship, the king exclaimed, "I am afraid that Heaven will send me misfortune, for this people honor me as a god!" He then intrenched himself to await the coming of duke George of Lüneburg and elector George of Saxony. Wallenstein fell back to Weissenfels, where the news of the intrenchment of the king at Naumburg reached him. Purposing to cut him off, if possible, he set out November 14th for Lützen. The king, seeing his plan, at once left Naumburg. On his march he heard of the detaching of Pappenheim's forces, and of Wallenstein's troops encamping in security about Lützen. "Now I believe," he cried, "that God has given the enemy into my hands!" He joined battle, though the Saxons were missing as in the battle of Leipzig. The Swedes pushed rapidly upon Lützen. It was night, the 15th of November, when they descended from the hills to the plain, and encamped in open ground, with the king at their head.

Upon Tuesday morning, November 16, 1632, a thick fog hung over the field of battle, preventing the hostile armies, though so ^{The king's great} _{victory.} near together, from seeing one another. About eleven o'clock the sun came out. The Swedes had offered their morning prayers upon their knees, and sung Luther's hymn, "Ein' feste Burg." The king then began the hymn composed by himself, "Fear not, thou little flock," and, protected only by his coat of cloth and leathern doublet, mounted his horse and rode through the ranks, addressing every nation with a suitable speech; and then, waving his sword above his head, gave the command, Forward! Lützen, set on fire by the imperial troops, to prevent themselves being outflanked, was in flames. The cannon thundered upon the advancing Swedes. Musketeers concealed in ditches

opened on them a murderous fire. None the less, Wallenstein's batteries were stormed, and two of his immense squares broken through. The Swedish cavalry were stopped by the ditches, but when the king went over followed after him. Gustavus, seeing his infantry giving way, hastened to their relief with part of his cavalry. Riding at their head, the fog again gathering, and his near-sightedness deceiving him, he fell among Piccolomini's cuirassiers. His horse received a pistol shot in the neck; by a second the king's arm was broken. As he turned he was struck by a shot in the back, and falling from his horse was dragged some distance in the stirrup. Of his grooms, one was dead, the other wounded. The Swedes, at the word "The king is wounded, captured, dead," were filled with renewed rage, and led by Bernhard threw themselves, fearless of death, upon the foe, and drove him back on every side. Even when Pappenheim came up with fresh troops they took courage, attacked him and obtained a complete victory. More than nine thousand of their slain enemies, Pappenheim among them, were spread over the town. After nine hours of battle Wallenstein was beaten, leaving the field to the Swedes. Thus gloriously died the great Swede, Gustavus Adolphus. His was a spirit as circumspect as it was bold. Rarely did any plan of his miscarry. In battle he was undaunted and as bold as a lion. In counsel he was wise and noble-minded. His deeds have left men impressed with his greatness, unselfishness, and generosity. His soldiers clung to him, not only because he led them to victory, but because he took care of them, kept them under discipline, and went before them in every difficulty and danger. The people revered him as a deliverer and a man, and not simply because they were overwhelmed by his great deeds. Even those not Protestants could not refuse him the tribute of profound esteem. As long as German history lives, so long will his name brighten and shine as a star in the sky.

Two hundred years after his death rose the Gustavus Adolphus Endowment, a beneficent and holy institution, intended to lend help to oppressed and dispersed evangelical churches. It has done much good already, and remains a fitting memorial of this royal Christian hero. So also does the Swedish monument at Lützen, which marks the place where he fell.—

J. O. V.

LIFE II. PAUL GERHARDT.

A. D. 1606—A. D. 1676. LUTHERAN, — GERMANY.

AMONG the noblest and loveliest of the results of the Reformation is its harvest of holy song, blessing in particular the evangelical church of Germany. At the time when he whose portrait we are to portray first saw the light, the lofty song of the "Wittenberg Nightingale" had

for over half a century resounded through the empire. With it, too, had been heard other songs, sung by poets whom the master spirit of Luther had inspired. Before their songs arose, the church for half a thousand years had been doomed to silence. She indeed had been permitted to add to the priestly litanies sung in unknown Latin her "Lord, have mercy," her "Pray for us," or her "Amen;" but these had come to be mere soulless echoes. How happy she was made when her tongue was at last unloosed; when in church and at home she could utter, according to her heart's desire and longing, her Christian faith, renewed in apostolical purity, in the winged words of her own mother tongue! With Luther leading the choir, she had sung, "Dear Christian people, all rejoice!" "Be Thou exalted, Jesus Christ!" "A mighty fortress is our God!" and all of Luther's seven and thirty valiant songs. With Paul Speratus she had repeated, "Salvation now has come!" With Justus Jonas, "Were God not on our side!" With Paul Eber, "When in the sorest need!" and "Lord Jesus Christ, true man and God!" With Nicholas Decius, "To God alone be highest praise!" And with others like new and lofty songs, which ascended to the skies. They were glad hymns of sincere Christian confession. He who sang, sang not for himself, but for all reformed Christendom, with which he felt himself in unison. What was known and accepted as abiding truth he uttered in song. The creed, which denoted the "standing or falling church," naturally gave character to the poetry of the Reformation. It came not with honeyed words, but clad in steel armor. It advanced in short, comprehensive, positive sentences. The renewed church needed to be defined, her foundations to be well established. As has well been said, the poetry of the Reformation shows "the Holy Spirit doing the work of the lapidary." There was in it a holy defiance, a nervous conciseness. This period of "objective hymnology," as it is called (which is not for a moment to be confounded with didactic poetry, for it soared on eagles' wings in the most sublime and inspired lyrics), came to a close. This occurred in part through the bursting forth of the tempest of war. There arose then a desire to gather

New era of from the church's confessions treasures of gospel truth to hymnology. strengthen the individual heart for days of darkness, or under life's burdens and varied relations. This gave sacred poetry a subjective character. We hear songs of the cross and of consolation,— "home and heart melodies," as John Heermann called his hymns. The believer sings his individual experiences to strengthen and encourage his brethren. He aims less at celebrating the facts of Christian redemption than at consecrating, sanctifying, and glorifying all personal and home conditions and relations. Morning and evening songs, wedding and nursery songs, songs of health, of sickness, and of death, and the like, are now sung.

In this era, as its leader, as its first and greatest master, rises one who,

next to Luther, takes the first place as a hymn-writer in the German, and indeed in the whole Protestant church. Who of evangelical Christians in Germany can hear the name without having notes, as it were, of bells and of grand organ-pipes salute his ears! Paul Gerhardt's name has resounded through the world.

The poet's birth was in 1606, in Gräfenhainichen, near Wittenberg, a city of electoral Saxony, burned up afterwards by the Swedes in the nineteenth year of the Thirty Years' War. His father was the burgomaster of the city. Paul's youth is veiled in obscurity. We only know that he was brought up a Christian. Early in life he was forced to reflect upon religion. He saw in youth the flames of the most devastating of all wars sweep over his country. He beheld it smitten by a thousand horrors and distresses, among which was the pestilence, and left at last a desert and a ruin. This indescribable calamity led his heart upward, and increased the disposition which he had manifested even from childhood to prayer and contemplation. He does not meet us again until 1651. He has now, for several years, had a place as a friend in the house of the advocate Berthold, in Berlin. Though forty-four years of age he is still a candidate without a parish, a circumstance which remains an enigma. Even then he has written and published some of his best songs: the morning song, "Awake, my heart, and sing!" the Easter song, "Approach within my gates!" and the jubilee song ^{Gerhardt's first hymns.} upon the Peace of Westphalia, "Praise God that now resound the notes of peace and gladness!" Meanwhile, he preached frequently in the churches of the city, embracing every opportunity of doing so, gladly. Why an official position was not offered him is, as has been said, inexplicable. His faith here met the sorest trials, yet came forth triumphant in God. An opening at last came. The "provostship" in Mittenwald became vacant. The magistracy asking the Berlin clergy to recommend some one to the place, they unhesitatingly named Paul Gerhardt. They testified that "he was well known for industry and learning, of good mind and of sound faith, honorable and peaceful in disposition, and spotless in life." Upon this account Paul Gerhardt was esteemed and loved by high and low in the city. The clergy could bear witness that at their invitation he had, by his excellent gifts, many times placed the churches of the city under obligation, and had grown to be greatly beloved. Upon this favorable testimony Gerhardt was called, and upon November 18, 1651, was ordained in the Nicolai Church, Berlin. He then solemnly subscribed the creed of the Lutheran church, including the "Form of Concord." His subscription, especially to this last, was to have a very serious result to him.

He became pastor of Mittenwald in the beginning of 1652. No record is preserved of his labors there. It may be supposed that they were exemplary. He was not free from trouble, especially in his relation to his

colleagues, over whom he was placed, without fault of his own,—his second assistant in particular, whose ambition and envy could not forgive Gerhardt that he was preferred to himself. He stayed five years in Mittenwald, in the last year wedding Anna Maria Berthold, the daughter of his good friend in Berlin. His home and married life became a model for his congregation. In June, 1657, he was called by the magistracy of

Is a pastor in Berlin. Berlin to be a dean in the Nicolai Church of that city. He

gladly accepted the place, hardly foreseeing what trials it would bring. He found himself delightfully related to his people, and to his new colleagues. How could it be otherwise, when he had long been known as a gifted theologian, a zealous pastor, and a man of the purest character, sincerest faith, and kindest heart! The people flocked in crowds to hear him. His services were the most frequented of all in the capital. By his preaching many were awakened from religious indifference. The church life of Berlin seemed about to bloom in a joyous spring-time, when upon the swelling shoots and buds, so full of promise, there settled the mildew of an unfortunate church quarrel.

Even before Gerhardt became a dean there was war between the Lutherans and the Reformed. Never could hotter excommunications and charges of heresy have been uttered against Rome than were pronounced by the pulpits of the two parties against one another almost every Sunday. The Reformed were reviled by their Lutheran brethren as sacramentarians, antinomians, rationalists, Socinians, or the like. Their doctrine was declared a complete apostasy from the clear, plain word of Scripture. The Reformed, while upon the whole taking the defensive, paid back their adversaries with epithets which were not altogether sooth-ing, such as "slaves to the letter," "Capernaumites," "ritual peddlers," and reproached them with having but half divested themselves of property. The noble Christian elector, Frederick William, while accepting heartily, like all his house, the Reformed creed, yielded to the Lutherans the most kind and appropriate recognition, and as a father resolutely pro-tected them in their rights and liberties. But he had long been pained by the church trouble, and had never ceased striving to reconcile the parties. His well-meant endeavors were thwarted chiefly by the un-yielding temper of the Lutheran theologians. Finally, in 1662, with an aim at harmony, he summoned the representatives of the two creeds to a colloquy. After many objections from the Lutheran side, the meet-ing took place in a room in the electoral library, baron chief president Otto von Schwerin in the chair. The edict of the elector which called the assembly together said, among other things, that "the unchristian charges, slanders, and anathemas, the false interpretations, the forced charges of blasphemous belief, should be put away on both sides; that true Christianity and the practice of real, sincere, undisputed religion should be enforced upon the minds of the people. For this object they

should confer amicably on the following questions: Does the Reformed confession teach or affirm anything for which the one teaching or affirming it should be damned 'judicio divino'? Does the said confession deny or conceal anything for the lack of the knowledge and practice of which Almighty God would withhold from any one salvation?"

Paul Gerhardt had now been serving as dean of the Nicolai Church for five years, quietly, peacefully, faithfully, and successfully, hardly taking note of the world outside. With a loving heart, he had, although a brave upholder of Lutheran views, never been guilty of pulpit controversies. When he heard of such he uttered his sorrow, and poured forth before God in his closet his longing for a union of all Christians in the love of Christ. But he was obliged now to appear upon the field of strife, and to be a leader even of his party.

Becomes involved in church strife.

The colloquy went on, or rather crept on, through seventeen sessions. The doings had little in them that was refreshing; while the length and breadth and repetition in them were, as we would think, intolerable. The Lutherans started out with the proposition, to which they ever returned, that their creed in substance coincided with the gospel, and that of course the Reformed, so far as they varied from it and taught something else, were in error. The Reformed pointed constantly to the distinction between essentials and non-essentials in evangelical doctrine. The Lutherans would not allow that this applied to any article in their creed, which, they said, as a whole was fundamental. The Reformed wished the concession that they with their idea of the Sacrament could be saved. The Lutherans thought that they could admit this only in the case that the others held to the Zwinglian or Calvinistic view from innocent ignorance of the Lutheran opinion. To the wish of the Reformed to be regarded by the Lutherans as brethren, there was returned, and that by Gerhardt too, the ambiguous reply which evaded not very handsomely the point at issue: "A Christian is one who possesses the true and saving faith, pure and unperverted, and shows the fruits of the same in life and conduct. Hence I cannot take the Calvinists as Calvinists for Christians." The Calvinists on their part made the mistake that they wished many things in the Lutheran confession to be pronounced unessential at once, when they should have first sought for a thorough discussion. Unfortunately, both parties avoided trying the questions at issue by the Scriptures. Hence, after a year had passed, they were upon the same ground which they occupied at the start. Paul Gerhardt, at last, in the name of himself and his associates, declared the result: "That they would abide unmoved in their doctrines; yet they would show the Reformed all neighborly and Christian love and friendship, and heartily desire and seek their salvation. As to the rest, they must maintain their right and liberty to show by word and pen and in the public sermon the errors of the Reformed, and to attack and refute them with stout arguments."

The elector was exceedingly grieved at the failure of the colloquy. When he was told that the pulpit war was waged anew, and more hotly and angrily than ever, he published an edict (September 16, 1664), which was sent by thousands through the country, in which he declared, with emphasis, "that absolutely he would not endure longer the war of confessions, and especially the mutually insidious accusations of heresy from the pulpits." He added to this peremptory declaration the order that if any one wanted a child baptized with the omission of the exorcism, as it was called (which indeed was chiefly a custom in obscure churches), the wish should be unhesitatingly granted by the preacher. This edict, which sharpened into an order that each pastor should promise it obedience, and should lose his office if he refused, made a great stir in Berlin and in the country, and excited numerous remonstrances. The elector insisted upon obedience. The first who by refractoriness incurred his wrath were two preachers of the Nicolai Church, provost Lilius and master Reinhardt. In spite of all the loyal protestations and entreaties for mercy by both the magistracy and the clergy of Berlin, and by the estates of Brandenburg, they were deprived of their places. Now it came the turn of Paul Gerhardt to sign the agreement. Held by his conscience to the Form of Concord, solemnly accepted by him, he gave a decided refusal. He could not sign the bond which pledged him not to oppose doctrines contrary to the Concord. Gerhardt now met the fate of his colleagues, albeit one of these, the provost, by submitting had been reinstated in his office. The deposition of Gerhardt, who had never spoken in angry controversy, excited great attention and sorrow, even outside his own communion. Petitions poured in on his behalf. The united guilds came to the palace to petition the elector for him. In vain. The elector said crushingly "that he knew nothing of the very noted piety of preacher Gerhardt, but he knew well that he had undoubtedly detained others from subscribing the agreement." When he was beset anew with prayers for Gerhardt, he finally made this decision (January, 1667) : "Because he had heard no complaint against Paul Gerhardt, except that he would not sign the bond, his electoral grace was constrained to suppose that he did not rightly understand the meaning of the edict. Therefore he would restore him fully, and would allow him to exercise his office as preacher as formerly." The liveliest joy filled everybody; only the pardoned himself was not joyful. Communing with his heart, he expressed himself both to the magistracy and to the elector with equal decision and modesty, saying "that his conscience forbade him to avail himself of the electoral favor, inasmuch as it was proffered him with the express declaration that he did not accept the electoral edict and agreement because he did not understand it. It would be certainly expected of him that even without signing he would follow it, and so would give up the Form of Concord, which was a constituent part of the Lu-

theran creed." After full deliberation he gave up his office, to the sorrow, not of his parish only, but of the whole Lutheran church in Berlin. Who will dare judge him? He obeyed his ^{Is deprived of} conscience. If it erred, it erred with the Form of Concord, which uttered anathemas upon the Reformed confession, and commanded him to do the same. Could he, standing where he did in relation to the church and its creed, have acted differently, or have kept his office? Many think so, because the electoral edict did not forbid the opposing of other creeds wholly, but only in an angry and hurtful manner, enjoining upon him simply moderation and gentleness,—such, indeed, as he had always shown before the edict was made. But, thought Gerhardt, who will decide what is gentleness? He also deemed that on account of the elector's expectation, expressed so clearly, he would feel hindered and constrained by the edict as truly as if he had signed it. Let us leave him here. He must answer, for the momentous step which he took, to his God only; and He is kind to the faithful and upright, and will graciously accept the great sacrifice which his oft-tried servant offered him according to his convictions, however much they were in need of purification through the gospel of peace.

Gerhardt, left with his wife and his child, without office or income, yet escaped want through the kindness of friends in Berlin. He did not know the full measure of tribulation till his faithful wife was taken from him (1668). Bereaved and desolate, he still found help in God through prayer, and comforted himself by singing, "Commit thy ways to God!" his own sweet song.

What was he to do? Gerhardt looked to God, saying, "Thou ever op'st the way; with Thee is full supply!" He cast his care upon God, and God cared for him. He received a call (October, 1668) from the magistracy of the electoral city of Lübben, in Lausitz, to the archdeaconship. He looked upon it as from God, and accepted it (May, 1669). We know nothing of his life in Lübben, save that from the magistracy he endured much which made him feel the loss of the love and kindness of his friends in Berlin. He remained in the place seven years. Was it ^{Closing days in} Lübben. strange that, as he approached seventy, he grew weary of his long, painful, and thorny road, and felt a deep longing for the rest of the saints in light? He had but one care, and that was for his boy Frederick, now seventeen years old, and this he laid upon God. He drew up as a legacy to his tenderly loved son a series of precious rules, the sum of which was: Pray diligently, study what is noble, live peacefully, serve faithfully, remain steadfast in thy belief and confession. So thou, too, in dying wilt depart out of this world willingly, joyously and blessedly. Amen. Gerhardt now lay ready to set sail for the eternal harbor, breathing already the air of home. Sensible of his weakness, and his approaching end, he at one time repeated, while his face was shining like

an angel's, the words of his hymn, "Why should I grieve," adding with strong, clear voice, —

"No death can us e'er slay; it only tears our souls from cares, from thousand wants away.
'T is death that shuts the door of bitter woe, and bids us go, and leads the way to yonder shore."

Soon after he gently bowed his head, closed his eyes upon the earth, which had given his outward life fewer roses than thorns, and joined the cloud of witnesses of whom the world was not worthy. His death occurred June 7, 1676. His remains were laid in the principal church of Lübben, not far from the altar. The grave of this seer will one day be more conspicuously marked than it has ever yet been. Gerhardt is honored, however, in the Lübben church by a full-length oil-painting, with the inscription, "A theologian shaken in the sieve of Satan" ("Theologus in cribro Satanæ versatus"). Beneath is a Latin epigram, which may be thus translated: —

"Like life, thou findest here Paul Gerhardt's form so dear,
All faith and hope and love! His praise of One above
Sounds loud as seraph's lyre, or song of heav'nly choir.
O Christian, sing his lays, and rise to God in praise!"

Gerhardt has, however, builded his own most glorious and enduring memorial. It is in his immortal songs. It is a cause of surprise that amid the long strife of creeds in which he was a leader, and the severe strokes of fortune, he kept his tuneful frame of mind. But outward assaults only drove him to commune with his heart and with God. They opened the exhaustless springs of living Christian experience which poured forth in all his songs. I know no one, since Luther, to whom the saying in Hebrews, "He being dead, yet speaketh," can be more justly applied than to Paul Gerhardt. Nor has any but Luther so touched the hearts of German believers. Many of his songs became people's songs, and were heard not merely in the church and the house, but in the field and the forest. The common remark is a true one, that he composed his songs, not like the singers of the Reformation, expressly and immediately for the church as the church, but rather for personal needs, for the individual soul. They are therefore subjective in character. None the less, there is in them a churchly spirit. He belongs with his whole heart to the church. He surrounds the Lutheran creed, fixed as it is, with the bloom of a strong, hearty soul life. Paul Gerhardt is the last of the strictly church poets who present and exalt faith objectively. He is also the first of the masters whose poetry, addressing the Christian heart, glows with a personal delight in the objects of faith; is pervaded with a power which, by appropriating the things of heaven, conquers death and human woe.

At one with his songs, Gerhardt vouches for their truthfulness. What he sings he is. What he confesses he has verified by his experience.

A well-moulded mind, a symmetrical Christian, he is in culture a leader of his generation. He is its first poet in the form as well as in the substance of his productions. If any one stood near him, it was Paul Fleming, who sang the well-known "Grieve not thyself for aught." It might have been supposed that Gerhardt, as a churchman, would have sung carefully prepared hymns of doctrine, as an ascetic,—songs in contempt of the world. But in fact he was the song-leader of a true Christian unity, whom Lutherans and Reformed, with equal delight and devotion, have followed. With child-like love flowing from Christ, and free from morbid pietistic weakness, he embraces all human relations far and near, raising them into a loftier, transfiguring atmosphere. Nor were his songs with organ accompaniment always. In the van of armies his songs of war resounded, his hymns of victory and of peace. Awakening cheerily from sleep he sang, "The golden sun of joy and bliss." Leading the farmers and mowers to the fields, he calls them to repeat, "I sing to Thee with heart and voice," and bids them praise with him One who showers unceasing blessings and benefits upon the earth, singing, "His rule has nothing e'er forgot." He summons himself and all who hear to a pleasure walk amid the newly awakened blossoms of the earth, in his

"Go forth, my heart, throw off all sadness, in summer days of light and gladness."

With buoyant spirit he praises health of body in the song,

"Who healthy is and whole, to God lift up the soul!"

He welcomes those who come home from travel, as they approach, crying, "Cheer up, the home is near!" He attends the bridal pair, garlanded with myrtle, to the altar with his lovely lines, "Full of wonder, full of power." He glorifies Christian marriage:—

"How blest the state, O Christ our Friend, whereon thy blessings rich descend!"

He sings in imitation of the last chapter of Proverbs,—

"The wife who fears the Lord, and virtue makes her care,
We praise and love accord for beauty sweet and rare."

Yet the grandest songs of Gerhardt are his songs for the church. He goes with her the year through, a constant and indispensable companion, and especially through her holy-days. Of one hundred and twenty-three songs of his, thirty at least have been universally and heartily adopted by the German evangelical church. They are wanting in no hymn-book worthy of mention. Who does not think of Christ's advent when he hears, "How shall I welcome Thee?" or, "Why dost Thou stand without?" How much would be taken from Christmas were we to lose "To thee, Immanuel, we sing," and "Joyfully my heart arises," and "At thy cradle here I stand." New Year's requires his pilgrim song, "Come, let us journey on." He gives us, too, the key-note, when we think of Christ's passion, in "The Lamb shall bear the load," and in that incomparable hymn, "O sacred Head, now wounded." His song of the resur-

rection day, "Rejoice ye, far and near," and "I know that my Redeemer lives,"—how they bear up the worshiping spirit! His song of the pentecostal day, "Enter within my gates," opens the heart to the Comforter beyond any other. And whom has not his wonderfully soothing "Now be silent, all ye woods," hushed into sweet accord with the silent woodlands and meadows? What believer has his song of defiance, "Will God forth for me go?" not encouraged and prepared for renewed contest with the powers of darkness? If all the throng were gathered together to whom Paul Gerhardt has spoken in his "Commit thou all thy ways," and in his equally enlivening and hearty "Why should I longer grieve?" giving them comfort and resignation of soul, who could number them!

Enough! Paul Gerhardt is ours! Of few men can this be said with as genuine pride and as joyous gratitude as we say it of him. His peer in sacred song no other nation can boast. May he still, as he has done ten thousand times already, sing clouds away from the brow of the anxious, and mists away from the eyes of the doubting! May all who hear the chords of his harp, or who join in unison, hasten with him to those clear, sunny heights where we hear him, far above the storms and the tempests of earth, exult with triumphing assurance of approaching victory:—

"Satan, world, and all their army at the worst can only gibe;
Gibe and scoff shall never harm me, God will shame the scoffing tribe."

F. W. K.

LIFE III. PHILIP JACOB SPENER.

A. D. 1635—A. D. 1705. LUTHERAN, — GERMANY.

IF ever, to any servant of God, there has been granted the privilege—man being the judge—of effacing every stain of sin, and of arraying himself in the beauty of holiness, it has been granted to Spener. For this reason, preëminently, he deserves a place in the evangelical calendar.

The youth of Spener fell in the period when the dreadful effect of the Thirty Years' War, with all its woes, was weighing upon the German church. The attention of Christians, till now absorbed by questions of theology and doctrinal controversies, was beginning to turn to the building up of Christian life. This proved helpful to the forming of Spener's mind. He was born in 1635, in Rappoltsweiler, in the district of Rappoltstein, in Upper Alsace. His father was first the steward of the count of the region, and afterwards his counselor. Spener's boyhood owed much to a widowed countess of Rappoltstein, who was his godmother. When he was but twelve years old he was so impressed by her death that he "wished to depart out of the world along with her," and for a time

sought to obtain his release from life by prayer to God. Going, when fifteen (1651), to Strassburg University, he found John Schmid laboring there as professor and preacher,—a man whom his contemporaries describe as of the purest Christian character, and as the agent of spiritual awakening in many young men. Young Spener, who, knowing nothing of conversion, supposed grace to be given in baptism, opened his receptive heart to the powerful influences around him. Serious, quiet, and retiring, he had no better evidence to adduce of his being wicked than his attendance upon a dance when he was eleven years of age. He was helped, spiritually, by an early study of Arndt's "True Christianity." This was the only book on practical piety then possessed by the Lutheran church. In a sterile period it guided thousands of souls in the way to Christ. Besides, Spener read certain awakening and edifying English volumes which strict Lutherans rejected. He passed his college days in quiet study. He says, "With dancing and gallant doings, with fencing, drinking, shooting, and boxing, I have nothing to do."

It was then the custom, when a student had completed his course, that he should travel as a scholar, for the sake of further intellectual improvement. Spener set out in 1660 on such a trip, going ^{Is trained by} travel. first to Switzerland, to Basel and Geneva, thus for the first time becoming acquainted with the Reformed church. He had been much prejudiced against it by his college teacher, Dannhauer. He became, however, very favorably impressed with the Christian life of the Genevese clergy and laity. He was especially affected by the discourses of the fiery, enthusiastic preacher of *répentance*, Labadie, and at a later period translated his "Manuel des Prières" into German. An intended visit to Central France had to be given up on account of sickness. He returned towards the close of the year 1661 to Strassburg. Afterwards he went as a traveling companion of the young count Von Rappoltstein to Würtemberg. Such attentions and friendships met him, both in the court of Stuttgart and in Tübingen University, that many supposed he would be secured for the church of Würtemberg. But a call to Strassburg brought him again to the city which was his second mother. He accepted the place of a "free preacher," as it was called, by which he had no pastoral work, but only preaching, to do, and hence was able to labor also in the university as a "privat-docent." He served the church of his land in this subordinate position for only a short time. When twenty-one (1666) he was called to be "senior" and pastor of the first evangelical church of Frankfort-on-the-Main. The earnest men of that day often preferred, instead of conferring in respect to such calls with their own inclinations, to ask the mind of theologians of high standing, or of the church courts. Spener intrusted the decision in his case to the magistrate of the city of Strassburg. He, after consulting with the theological faculty, pronounced that this honorable call should be

regarded as from God, and gave up the promising youth to the imperial city.

Spener's field in Frankfort placed great and difficult tasks before him, especially since he entertained such high views of the claims in Frankfort. upon him and his office. To realize in its true ideal the Christian Church as portrayed by Paul was the problem to which he set himself. The congregation was to be bound together not by the Lutheran confession alone, but by a Christian Lutheran belief and life, and to be made subject to the threefold rule of state and church and family. How different was the condition of things in Frankfort, when Spener went thither, and in all the Lutheran churches, from this ideal! In all established churches the life of faith was seen only in an individual here and there. It was so, also, in the great city congregations. In Frankfort discipline and church order had greatly declined. The clergy were contented with a mechanical execution of their duties. Their numbers were far too few for the performance of pastoral labor. The magistracy, who were represented in the church assemblies in the imperial cities by a deputation of inspectors, were accustomed more often to hinder and oppose than to assist any attempt on the part of the pastors at strict church discipline. Spener was possessed of no Elijah zeal in his work of reform. His zeal before God was a gentle flame, marked by prudence, gentleness, and humility. His work in all his varied fields, like his general influence upon the church, was characterized by its gentle progressiveness. To attack the existing arrangements as little as possible, to breathe into them, rather, a new spirit, and thus lead them to something better, was the aim of Spener in his work at Frankfort.

As a foundation for an experience of religion, he purposed, first of all, to extend the knowledge of religion among his people. The effort put forth by the Lutheran church in this direction was not sufficient. The catechising and school-instruction were mostly a mere memorizing. The preachers took their texts from the lessons of each Sunday. Their sermons were too dogmatic and unpractical, and for the mass of the people too learned. The saying of Luther, "What is to be done by the church needs to be begun by young people," was in the mind of Spener. His first work was to throw some life into the teaching of the catechism. A consultation with his colleagues resulted in their agreeing to discuss the doctrine of each week's catechism lesson in the sermon of the previous Sunday afternoon. Spener himself rehearsed it, also, in the opening of his sermon every Sunday morning. He was not bound as pastor to attend to catechising, yet he entered upon it, setting an example to his colleagues. Through his tact with the young, he awakened an increasing interest. His Sunday afternoon exercises in the catechism attracted adults as well as children in growing numbers. Spener's first aim, according to the usage of his day, was merely to cause the people to un-

derstand the truths of religion. But he became more earnest, especially after a stranger, who had visited his catechism class, had pressed upon him the question, "But how shall we join head and heart?" in his seeking to join with the understanding of truth its application to the daily life. He thus came to originate a new and practical method in catechetical instruction. His "catechetical tables," one hundred and eight in number, which appeared in 1683, were thankfully received and used throughout a large territory. In his sermons he aimed at the utmost plainness and simplicity, at thoroughly explaining the Bible, and at practically applying it. Though his discourses, by their prevailing didactic character and lack of what we call enthusiasm, by their diffuseness, also, and their extreme length, impress us as dry, still they present the rich essence of the gospel, which listeners in those days seldom heard, and which gave them an attractiveness that won the hearts alike of the learned and the obscure. His preaching was in other ways effective. He sought to enlarge the popular knowledge of the Bible. The appointed lessons, which sometimes seemed neither fresh nor appropriate, were not enough. He therefore, before beginning his sermon proper, used to explain passages of Scripture, especially the epistles. Confession of sins as then practiced was very unprofitable. In large churches like that of Frankfort even the best pastors could hardly obtain a correct idea of the mental condition of penitent persons. Yet this was demanded by the larger Lutheran catechism, before the rule requiring confession was done away. The pastors contented themselves, therefore, with a mere repetition of the formula of confession. One of the great sorrows of Spener was that by this lifeless form the Lord's Supper was become, with both ministers and people, a piece of ritualism ("opus operatum"). Many a time did Spener sigh for the church's reviving. In some portions of the Lutheran body, the existing evil was remedied, at least in part, by the pastor visiting communicants at their homes. But Spener could not introduce this custom into Frankfort, nor the practice of confirming the young communicants, which he equally desired.

All that Spener had done thus far was within the limits of the prevailing church customs. Not so the private meetings for mutual edification, which soon, under the nickname of "conventicles," were setting the whole church in uproar. In themselves they furnished no occasion of offense. They were even approved by the Lutheran church confessions. Conferences (colloquia mutua) of Christians respecting matters of religion had been approved and recommended by the Smalcald Articles. Certain friends of Spener, who were awakened, proposed to meet for conversation upon religion instead of upon other subjects. Spener could not but approve their wish, and offered his study for their use, and himself as their leader (1670). These were not prayer-meetings in our understanding of the name, but social talks, first upon

Spener's new
measures.

certain devotional books, then upon the books of the Bible. From their very nature they admitted of none as leaders save the educated. This new measure, so very unobjectionable, was not entered upon by Spener without consultation with his colleagues. He sought thus to disarm opposition. But among worldly spirits of both the clergy and the laity, outside of Frankfort especially, evil reports began to circulate. The name given the meetings, conferences to promote Christian piety (*colloquia pietatis*), suggested the nickname of "the Pietists." Before long, meetings were held here and there over the city, in some cases without the pastors having any part in them, and with excesses also, such as compelled Spener, in one instance, to insist upon putting an end to the conference. There was also a more serious result. These social gatherings of persons of like minds for edification afforded to many greater profit than the public worship of the church. Those of more serious turn began to doubt as to the propriety of joining in the Lord's Supper with the great promiscuous crowd. Thus, to the displeasure of strong churchmen and to the grief of Spener, these conventicles promoted "separatism." But Spener succeeded in what few leaders accomplish,—the checking of those among his followers who proposed to surpass their teachers in zeal for holiness. A publication of his, full of wisdom and spiritual discernment ("Abuse and Use of Complaints over Christian Degeneracy," 1684), made such an impression far and wide that, as Spener says, "nearly all the estranged ones" returned to the church. None the less the cause of offense remained, and the seeds of separatism were planted in the district of the Rhine.

But of all Spener's labors in Frankfort on the church's behalf, nothing was so significant and effective as his little work, "Pia effective book. Desideria," or, "Heart-Longings for a Revival of Piety in the Evangelical Church," 1675. In this book Spener uttered the desires and cravings which had been in many souls ever since the war, but had not before found expression. Beginning with the cry of Jeremiah, "Oh, that my head were waters!" he presents from his deeply stirred spirit the wounds of the church, and the means of healing them: (1.) The more general circulation of the Scriptures, with meetings in private for a thorough study of their meaning. (2.) The improvement and faithful exercise of the pastoral office; the laity to coöperate with the pastors in edifying one another, especially by means of family religion and prayer. (3.) The serious truth that to know is not enough in religion; practical experience must be added. (4.) Correct relations with errorists and unbelievers; controversy in the true spirit of love, with a wish not simply to convince, but to benefit, the one opposing. (5.) Some way of studying theology which will make students as earnest in living Christian lives as in studying their books. (6.) Some other way of preaching, which will present as the chief truth that Christianity signifies a new man, the essence of his

life being faith, and its activity consisting in bringing forth good fruits. Spener's book was met from all sides, and from leading theologians, with letters of approval. Both pastors and people expressed publicly their gratitude. His measures, and especially the religious colloquies, were put into practice by earnest pastors. "Orthodoxy," if deeply wounded, was entirely silent. Spener had not been moderate in his expressions, but had added strength to his complaints and charges by bringing forward upon his side distinguished church authorities.

Thus twenty years passed with Spener in a blessed work in the city of Frankfort. Secret envy and opposition he found, his foremost opposer being the court preacher Mentzer, in Darmstadt. Yet in the whole tribe of controversial theologians, then so ready with their pens, only a single voice accused Spener's orthodoxy,—a certain deacon Dilfeld, of Nordhausen, whose weak and obscure attacks were without result. Spener, having studied under Dannhauer, the strong Lutheran leader of the church in Strassburg, was yet an upholder of Lutheran orthodoxy in its strictest form. One proof of this is his severe sermon, preached in Strassburg, against the Reformed (1667), and his upholding from the pulpit, against his opponents, the "elenchus nominalis." The champions of Lutheran orthodoxy, even Calov, the inflexible Wittenberg inquisitor, sent him friendly letters. Yet already the agitation which was to end all this harmony was beginning. The religious awakening, which had risen independently of him, but had been greatly promoted by his efforts, was all this while growing. Spener was looking for a new age of blessing in the church. In 1675 he writes, "I have joyfully observed that in several places students are aroused. Such movements of hearts seen in many at the same time are a clear proof of the divine presence, and show that a time is at hand when God will have pity upon his church. Know that not in our church only is this evidence seen, but among the Reformed, too, are many who are caring for the cause of God; and even among the Catholics, in their dense darkness, some are concerned about their condition. For quite a time I have seen that which resembles the events preceding the Reformation under Luther."

Spener's light was now to be set upon a loftier candlestick. He was to become more than ever a centre of the awakening throughout Germany. He received a call in 1686 to be-
Spener called to Dresden.
come chief court preacher in Saxony, having a seat and a voice also in the supreme consistory. This was at that time the highest place in the evangelical German church. Spener modestly sought the opinions of devout theologians upon his accepting or declining the call. Only when he was advised by them unanimously to accept, did he consent to go. It was characteristic of the man that in his correspondence on this business with Carpzov, the Saxon court preacher (which is still preserved), he had to be reminded by the latter to ask in reference to his future salary.

But even though Spener's new field in Dresden was larger and more important, what could inviting waters avail when opposing winds were beating upon the sails! Spener bewailed "the opposition upon every side. That I interest myself in a matter is of itself enough to prevent anything being done." In Frankfort he had had to lament that many a good enterprise failed through the ill will or indifference of the magistracy. Yet he could there throw his own weight as "senior" into the scale, as well as the authority of a united body of pastors who were well disposed to him. But in Saxony he was but a single spoke in the bureaucratic driving wheel. He found opposers, open and secret, among his colleagues; he had dubious friends at the court, and declared foes in the majorities of the theological faculties of Leipzig and Wittenberg. The favorable beginnings having vanished, this was the condition of affairs after 1689. In March of that year Spener felt compelled by his conscience as a pastor to address a serious discourse to the elector, putting it in writing, because personal access to the elector, who hardly ever stayed

Loses favor by faithfulness. in Dresden three days at a time, was out of the question.

At once his hitherto well-disposed princely patron was turned to his most bitter enemy. Through the strict precaution of Spener the nature of his communication was never disclosed. Yet it may be inferred from what Spener says in a letter to his son-in-law Reichenberg. He writes under date of April 15, 1689, "What has been told you of the elector's sickness has not reached our ears, but if he continues to live as he is doing his sudden death is prophesied by his physicians." Then, when George Third, taken ill in the camp at Tübingen in September, 1691, died suddenly, Spener tells his son-in-law that the prince has died of "intestinis corruptis." How great was the elector's respect for Spener as a man, in spite of his wrath at his letter, is seen in the reply, which with all its passion yet is profoundly reverent. It is also proven by the prince's letter of dismissal, in which he pledges an annuity to the wife of Spener in the event of the death of the latter. A disposition as shy and modest as Spener's could have taken the bold step named only through divine courage. He verifies the truth so well expressed by Francke in his tract, "Nicodemus, or the Fear of Man," that he ceases to fear man who fears God. With the conviction that he had done in his office all that prudence and deference required, Spener stood unmoved by the consequences of princely disfavor, or by the rejoicings of his enviers and foes. He declined to ask a dismissal, according to the prince's request, preferring to drink the bitter cup which, now that he was powerless, was offered him by courtiers and by his colleagues. Neither the declaration of the enraged prince to his chief privy counselor "that the sight of Spener, if continued, would oblige him to change his residence," nor his threat to turn Catholic, could alter Spener's decision. To meet the prince's desire, nothing was left the privy council save

to obtain work elsewhere for the hated court preacher. An opportunity offered in Berlin. Spener had some time before been offered a place as "provost" of the church in that city. He had answered that the two courts should settle his place between them. Berlin had supposed that the elector would not give Spener up, and had proffered the ^{Spener is called to Berlin.} vacant office to another. This person now dying, the ambassador of Saxony in Berlin arranged that the court of Berlin should send for Spener. When this was done, Spener joyfully wrote his son-in-law that "the hour of deliverance had struck." He was to go to Berlin as provost and counselor of the consistory. His departure had hardly been announced when Carpzov of Leipzig came out against "Pietism," for this name was used in Saxony, now that Francke and his friends in Leipzig had opened their Bible schools (*collegia biblica*).

Spener's Dresden work had continued four years. The obstacles in his way had continually increased. His wisdom, which was ever great and grew by trial, forbade his attempting to set up his religious conferences in that city. Yet his stay was not without blessed results. The Saxon clergy, stiff in orthodoxy, had received a stirring up. Many of them grew ashamed of their ancient slowness. The three Leipzig masters, Francke, Anton, and Schade, brought together by Spener's counsel and invitation, kindled a fire among the students and the people. In Dresden the electors and several nobles and statesmen were won to the side of the gospel.

In Berlin, Spener found his position, in most if not in all respects, better than in Dresden. The elector, Frederick Second, who took as king the title of Frederick First, and his second wife, Sophia Charlotte, who was inclined to skepticism, gave him no especial cause of joy. His parish was an untilled field; his colleagues, save Schade, who came into office soon after him, were no great help to him. Still, instead of hate on the part of the government, he met a welcome, and instead of a nervous Lutheran orthodoxy, he found liberal and tolerant reformed ideas. His counsels were listened to by the Christian counselor Von Schweinitz, and in some degree by minister Von Fuchs. His catechising, his preaching, his charges to the preachers under his inspection, his intercourse with the candidates, prepared the soil in Berlin, and gained in general an acceptance. He exerted especial influence in the filling of important positions, and above all in the founding of the new University of Halle, which was to be thenceforth the centre of pietistic revival. He also lent protection by his intercession to persecuted Pietists, who were now attacked, in part justly, in part unjustly, from every quarter.

The more the revival of religion grew, the less did it keep within the limits set to it by the prudence of Spener. As in the Reformation, men arose who would carry their views to an ^{Spener and the German revival.} extreme. Unsound leaders opposed churchly authority. The "restora-

tion of all things" was preached. Excited fancies called forth visions, ecstasies, and marvelous cures. Some became separatists through excessive zeal for the church's purity. Others became mystics through unintelligent ideas upon holiness of life. Spener was affected most seriously by the controversy upon the abuse of confession, conducted as it was with great passion by some of his adherents. He was directly concerned in this dispute, which related especially to private confession and to private absolution, by which forgiveness of sins was proffered a multitude who were either not known at all to the one administering the sacrament, or were known unfavorably. Among the warmest debaters was his colleague and intimate friend, the eloquent Schade, who, in 1697, published a tract ending with the words, "Praise it, who will, confession-stool, Satan's-stool, hell-pool!" [Beicht-stuhl, Satan's-stuhl, feuer-pfuhl.]

Spener complained bitterly to Francke that his most trying cares and woes came not from his foes, but from his friends. He could hardly restrain the fiery Francke in Halle from extremes in respect to confession. It required still greater pains to keep Schade in office, excusing him from hearing confessions, against all the precedents of Lutheranism. A yet greater innovation upon Lutheranism was the edict of 1698, which left it free to Lutheran communicants to attend private confession, or to absent themselves from it.

Amid these extreme views, which made it hard to distinguish between truth and error, Spener's wisdom and theological depth assisted him to correct decisions, and to join the care of the individual conscience with the care of church-ordinances. His circumspection is seen in his judgment of the ecstasies and visions which came into notice. When asked to consider the supposed revelations of Fräulein von Asseburg, he said: "Extraordinary supernatural events have, indeed, not prevailed in the church since the days of the Apostles, but the possibility of such must not be denied, any more than that like occurrences have, according to history, been known in all centuries. But there must be the strictest tests, and the greatest care taken to distinguish the false from the true. With what he knew of Asseburg and her devout character, he could deem her revelations neither a fraud nor a work of Satan. He could not, however, decide whether they came from inspiration or from her gift of imagination. The latter was able to produce extraordinary results with persons either asleep or awake. They had never yet been explained by the laws of nature, which were but imperfectly known. Should he, after a long lapse of time and strict examination, find that these revelations surpassed the powers of nature and of imagination, he must regard them as from God, and intended, perhaps, to give a new example of the wonders of God to men who were disposed to atheism, and to show how near we may be to the fulfillment of many of the divine promises. But so long as such a conclusion was not established by certain tests, it became him and the other

members of the council to withhold their decision, following the advice of Gamaliel. From like fear of plucking up a plant which the Father had planted, he refrained all his life from reading Jacob Böhme's works. So far as he could judge they were too obscure to be subjected to the theological crucible.

Spener's carefulness in controversy availed little with foes who welcomed any undue efflorescence of the pietistic movement in order that they might condemn the entire tree and its fruits. Spener as a controversialist. The flood-gates were opened by Roth (pastor first at Halle, then at Leipzig) in his abusive book, "A Portrait of Pietism" (*Imago Pietismi*, 1691). From all directions the flood rushed in on the Pietists, and especially upon Spener. The united faculty of Wittenberg published "Christian Lutheran Views in Clear, Candid Teachings, according to the Word of God and the Lutheran Church-Books, especially the Augsburg Confession, and the Unrighteous Opposing Views of the Works of Dr. Spener." No less than two hundred and eighty-three errors, it was claimed, were found in Spener's writings. Spener prepared an answer to all the principal assaults upon him. He was obliged to this by the theological code of honor of a period which was drawing to its close. Whoever did not answer assaults was counted defeated. Spener regretted that so much time must be wasted in this war with the pen, which could have been used so much more profitably in building up the church. Had it even been a scholarly controversy upon essentials, such as the earlier Lutherans waged, it had been regarded by him differently, but as the champions of orthodoxy lost confidence in their cause, and as their scholarly preparation decreased, they betook themselves the more eagerly to hateful personalities and common pratings. Yet one good came from the controversy forced upon the good man. His Christian character was displayed in so pure and lovable a form that it won the reverence of every unprejudiced person, and offered mankind a model of the way in which religious debates should be conducted. Spener thought of nothing save the cause at issue. He avoided personalities even when his foes showed personal shortcomings; he never used hot language; he made excuses for the errors of his opponents; he promised them his prayers, with him no empty formality. What a contrast with Luther's polemics! What a difference, not in times only, but in natures! It is like the difference between Luther and Melancthon, or such as Luther makes between himself and Brenz, saying, "If I may compare great things with small, I of Elijah's four gifts have received the wind, the storm, and the fire, rending the mountains and tearing the rocks in sunder! Thou, and whoever is like thee, hast been given the gently sighing breeze!" Nothing shows Spener's evenness of character like his declaring that he had never through the attacks of his foes passed a sleepless night. He refused the praise bestowed upon his gentleness in controversy, saying, "I count my

moderation no virtue, but in part a natural gift, in part a result of my habits from youth up, which make it difficult for me to use hard words upon serious questions." He is here referring to his moderate tone in replying to the Romanist Breving, for which, in fact, he was less to be praised than rebuked.

But whatever Spener's temperament, his uniform gentleness and love amid unprecedented abuse can hardly be counted merely natural. Rather it was the result of that devout education of the mind which Spener in his modesty called "an acquired habit." This being Spener's nature, he did not welcome aid when it was proffered in a spirit unlike his own. When a satire over the pseudonym of Daniel Harnacks was published against Spener's most bitter foe, John Frederick Mayer of Hamburg, Spener remarked, "Albeit my opponent's weaknesses and faults are shown in these pages so that many will think I should be delighted, I am rather disgusted. I recognize that the good cause which I, with other Christians, am carrying on, will become suspected and ruined through nothing so soon as through abusive and anonymous writings, for which we are not to blame, which we rather abhor. The champion for truth and the honor of God needs to use the weapons which Paul names (Ephesians v.) against the enemy."

The immense load of labor which Spener took upon him, the most of it voluntarily, was sustained by him only through his conscientious use of time and his enjoyment in general of good health. His official duties in Dresden and Berlin were enough for one man's strength. In a Berlin letter he mentions that he is obliged to attend consistory meetings, lasting, with a brief interval for dinner, from eight A. M. till seven P. M. But, as

Spener's work as an author. we have seen, he enlarged, of his own free will, his official

work. Then how many books he wrote, each of them, as of his sermons, bearing his marks of careful elaboration! Caustein's catalogue records seven folios printed during his life, sixty-three quartos, seven octavos, forty-six duodecimos, besides many prefaces to the works of friends, or to recommend old books of devotional character. To all this must be added the visits constantly paid him by the high and the low, the advice which he was asked to give, which may be found in part in the volume of his "opinions," and the letters which he wrote to a vast number of persons in all parts of Germany, who sought counsel or information, or perhaps only the honor of the correspondence. In one year Spener notes six hundred letters written by him, leaving three hundred still unanswered. He considered that all his time belonged to his office. He seldom went to dinners or social gatherings. In nine years at Berlin he saw the farm belonging to his provostship only twice. But in addition to family prayers he maintained private devotions morning and evening. His faithfulness in them proves the rich endowments of his heart. Every person who commended himself to his prayers, and

others for whom he felt a concern, of his own accord, were presented to God by name.

When we come to his married life, we are forced to smile as he tells us that, feeling that from his seriousness he could not be attentive enough to a wife, he had resolved to marry some widow who had been used to a crabbed husband, and would therefore not be expecting many gallant attentions. But by the advice of his mother and of an uncle, he chose a woman for whom, as he said afterwards, he could not thank God enough. He was given much anxiety by three of his sons, in whom, however, before their deaths, their father's labor bore fruit. The son who gave the most gladdening promise in religion was taken away by death at twenty years of age, while studying for the ministry.

As was said by us in beginning, as far as Spener's life is known to us,—and witnesses are abundant to his public and his private acts,—we know of no man in the company of the toilers and champions in the kingdom of God, of whom it can be said in like measure, Behold a soul in whom Christ has, indeed, formed his image! We have been permitted to see several hundreds of his letters to his nearest kindred, his children, and his most intimate friends; in all of these is the same loving, devoted, gentle, and pure spirit as was seen by the public. Even in the Dresden period, when the unrighteous anger of his prince was poured upon him, when the exultation of his foes in court and in nation mocked him, he uttered not a harsh word, nor a cutting personality, nor indeed does he make any definite communication concerning their plottings. In writing to his wayward sons, he shows a holy fatherly seriousness along with a hearty burning affection.

The tempests which raged about Spener, the greater part of his life, did not subside toward its close. Rather they grew fiercer through the attempts of the Brandenburg government at a union of the Lutheran and the Reformed. Spener had grown constantly more lenient towards divergency in doctrine which did not touch the essentials. He was especially so towards the Reformed. He suppressed the severe sermon against them, preached by him in Frankfort, and on his dying bed ordered that it never be republished. Yet he held to his belief that every error in doctrine had its influence upon the life. But as he came nearer to individuals whose doctrine he disapproved, he was convinced that, very illogically, error in doctrine could exist along with honesty and purity of life. He said, "When a Christian meets one who, as he finds from intimate intercourse, is making God's service the chief aim of his whole life, and whose creed is to trust to nothing in the wide world save to the mercy of God in Christ, though such an one be a member of an erring church, and himself share in its errors, he is to be regarded as a child of God." Hence came Spener's conviction that all the errors of the Reformed church, respecting prede-

Spener in union efforts.

tination, the two natures of Christ, and the presence of Christ in the Supper, were "more mistakes of theory than of practice." When Spener thought thus, it was hardly to be supposed that he would oppose the union conferences of the leading theologians in the two churches, appointed by Frederick First. But his practical mind perceived that a union was not to be effected in this manner, at least at that period. The teachers of the two churches, he believed, were still too greatly opposed to one another, for a union thus attained to be enduring. He deemed it inevitable that a greater schism would result from the effort, and, instead of two parties, three or four. Invited by the king to take part in the conferences, he declined. Yet he was obliged to experience that the blame of starting this union work was laid, first and chiefly, upon him, the "patriarch of heretics."

In the year following (1704) Spener had the first warning of the approach of death. He gathered his colleagues (June 11th) in the Nicolai Church, in order to declare to them once more, as was the custom then with the leaders of the Lutheran church, his hearty agreement with the Lutheran confession, and above all, that he bore no resentment against his adversaries, but wished from the bottom of his heart to meet all of them in glory. For a while he recovered strength, but upon the 5th of February, 1705, he suddenly and quietly took his departure, in the arms of his loved ones, going to a world where, away from strife and battle, he should reap what he had richly sown. On the night before his death he asked that the high priestly prayer of Christ (John xvii.) be read to him, not once only, but twice and thrice. He had ever deeply loved the prayer, but never had preached upon it because he did not sufficiently understand it.

Spener was God's agent in a great work. A time had to come when the church of his century, stiffened as it was in its outward ecclesiasticism, should appropriate the truths of Christianity in a living and spiritual manner. If it was to be led to enjoy a revival, without a secession, such as was threatened by an everywhere rising separatism, there had to be a man like Spener who would unite the orthodoxy of former days with personal religion in a thorough and attractive manner, and who, by his theological ability and by his awakening of regard for himself and for his piety, would serve as an agent and a leader of the desired consummation. The charming combination of churchly and personal religion which was seen in Spener did not continue to be shown in his followers. Even Halle, which was for the longest period the nursery of his views and his spirit, became one-sided. Yet a breath of life had gone forth from Spener over the church, which was to fructify it through a hundred years, and still it is at work, in that theology in the church is beginning to separate itself from dogmatism. — A. T.

LIFE IV. AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE.

A. D. 1663—A. D. 1727. LUTHERAN,—GERMANY.

“*God is able to make all grace abound toward you: that ye always having all sufficiency in all things may abound to every good work.*” One day as August Francke heard that a friend was in a very needy condition, these words came into his mind. He pondered them, asking whether God could not make him also abound. Nor did he, like many, simply look above him, but also within him and around him. He thought that possibly his hand already held the spade with which he should dig for buried treasures. He set himself down, and, since all the rest of his hours were occupied, robbed himself of his evenings to compose his “*Bible Observations*” (*Observationes Biblicæ*). He thus earned within a year over one hundred and fifty dollars for his friend. It was Francke’s fidelity to duty that made him all that he was to Christendom and to mankind. Each morning he was wont to say to himself that possibly he had passed his last night upon the earth, and as God was granting him the boon of another day, he would spend it as if it were the last gracious gift of God to himself. Such a view of life taught him to be faithful in little things. His life-story, therefore, urges upon every soul the question, *How great is thy faithfulness?* This interrogation is written upon Francke’s career, “Who then is that faithful and wise steward?”

The amount that any one person can achieve depends upon his times as well as upon himself, for there are unfruitful as well as fruitful years. Francke began life at the beginning of a plenteous season. Near the close of the seventeenth century the church of Luther was revived. Men had risen up like Arndt, Spener, Müller, and Scriver. Lay workers had joined them. The birth of Francke took place at this era. He was born in 1663, in Lübeck. When he was three years old his father, a doctor of law, removed his family to Gotha, the capital of duke Ernest the Pious, a zealous supporter of religion. From both father and mother August inhaled an atmosphere of piety. When nine years old he asked his mother for a little room of his own, where he might study and pray by himself. There he used to repeat this prayer: “*Dear Lord, I know that there are, indeed, many positions and occupations which may at last be made to redound to thy honor! But I ask that Thou wouldst direct my whole life, from first to last, to thy glory, to thy glory only.*” But it is hard for the rich to enter the kingdom; hard for the rich in mind and in acquirements. Francke found that along with his knowledge, his ambition grew also, while the tender germ of piety withered. When sixteen years old (1679) he entered Erfurt University; from there, the same year, he went to the University of Kiel, and

Francke’s youth.

five years later, at the invitation of a wealthy student of theology in Leipzig, who wished him for a room-mate, he entered the university of that city. The Lutherans of Saxony were then feeling the awakening influences of Spener. Francke met, in Leipzig, Christians with whose aid he founded a society for Bible study (collegium philobiblicum). This was not for scholarly investigation merely, but for mutual edification. Francke, as he afterwards confessed, could not say at that time, "My only love is the Crucified One." Christ was not his all in all. Honor and prosperity were also his cherished objects. Not till he was twenty-three, did he, during a stay in Lüneburg with the devout and learned superintendent Landhagen, come to know himself more fully, and to confess, "I looked over my past life, as one looks from a lofty tower over an entire city. At first I began counting the sins, but afterward I beheld their fountain-head, unbelief, or rather false belief, with which till now I had deceived myself." One who is ignorant of himself looks upon faith in a merciful God as an easy matter. So for a long time had Francke. But when the youth saw clearly the self-will and impurity of his heart, he was forced to cry, as with wounded conscience he lost sight of God, "O God, if Thou art, then show Thyself to me." He who, at a later day, inscribed upon his Orphan House, "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles," was obliged once to offer, as he tells us himself, the prayer just named. He resolved never to preach more. Then after a hard struggle there came to his heart the blessed assurance, in the face of all his accusers, that he had in his Lord Jesus Christ a reconciled God.

Happy in faith, Francke felt like the Apostle, "We cannot but speak." ^{Francke's good work in Leipzig.} He returned to Leipzig (1689), thinking to lead others to God. The teachers of the Lutheran church had, in the midst of their dry doctrinal discussions, forgotten and forsaken, to an incredible extent, the green pastures of the Holy Scriptures. Spener says, "I know persons who stayed at the university six years and never heard a lecture upon exegesis." Francke relates that in his day there were no Bibles or Testaments to be found in the Leipzig bookstores. He therefore announced that he would deliver exegetical and practical lectures upon the New Testament. Soon there was such a hungering and thirsting for religion excited, that the citizens also came, and the lecture-room was too small. No sooner did spiritual activity awaken, than opposition arose also. The sect-name of "Pietists" was invented. Francke was set down as their leader. In 1690 his lectures were forbidden. He thought of maintaining his position none the less, when another field was opened up to him. Through his friend Breithaupt, a pastor in Erfurt, who shared his views, he received a call to that city, which he accepted. In Erfurt he soon gave an illustration of how a true love of God and of his people will quicken the inventive powers. Francke was by no means

satisfied with the ordinary work of his office, preaching, confessing, and cathechising. For the benefit of Erfurt students he gave practical lectures every day upon the Scriptures. He arranged with the members of his church for preaching in their houses. He procured and distributed Testaments, Arndt's "True Christianity," and other awakening works. As the revival grew, opposition grew also. The Romanist citizens succeeded in obtaining from Mainz an electoral decree which obliged Francke, after fifteen months of blessed activity, to leave Erfurt. Again was a door opened to him of God. Through his friend Spener, who was now in Berlin, Francke received an invitation, the very day the order came for him to leave Erfurt within forty-eight hours, to enter the electoral territories of Brandenburg, and to settle as a professor in the newly founded University of Halle.

In Halle, Francke's divinely kindled heart found (1692) in many directions an ever-widening sphere of usefulness. Here he Francke begins work in Halle. builded an imperishable monument. Preacher, professor, guardian, orphan-father, director of mission and Bible societies, his loving genius served to pioneer the way into many and varied fields. Taking charge as preacher of the town of Glaucha, a part of Halle, he found a territory utterly waste. Where in our day the row of buildings upon the Orphan House Place, founded by him, rises with the inscription, "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles," he saw at that time a group of miserable huts with beer and dance houses, one in particular called "The Eagle," which were inhabited by a coarse and neglected set of people. He preached to these persons of repentance and of the gospel, upon a rule which he had adopted, that he would never preach a sermon without including in it so much of the gospel that if his hearers heard but that one sermon, they might be led to accept salvation. Preaching rather sows seed than waters or nourishes it. It may accomplish the latter also, but the watering and the nurturing belong more especially to personal conversation, which is so unspeakably beneficial. By this the sermon is fitted to the individual conscience. Francke made the confessional his pulpit for the heart of each individual. He found that many were kept from the Sacrament by the fee paid at the confessional. Reflecting upon this he self-denyingly surrendered this part of his small income. Another way to help the sermon in carrying the water of life to the people was the catechising. This channel was choked up when Spener arose. The pastors deemed themselves too great to be the teachers of the little ones. Francke's childlike mind delighted in children. His knowledge, too, of how imperfectly the sermon was understood by adult persons, led him diligently to practice catechising from house to house, as well as in the church. Prayer meetings also were begun, at first in private houses, then, when opposition was made, in the church itself.

As a university teacher (from 1692, professor of Greek and Oriental languages; from 1698, regular professor of theology) Francke's chief aim was to employ the science of theology (which can be understood only by means of a lively faith) in connection with other means of grace to awaken and advance the Christian life. He never made science his object, but simply his help in attaining his object, which was to establish his hearers in the faith, and to increase their ability to lead their congregations to Jesus Christ. Hence he joined with his lectures, which all tended to religious awakening, hortatory addresses, "intended to show the hindrances in the way of students of theology attaining their true ends, and how to overcome such hindrances." These addresses were delivered upon Thursdays, in the large hall, at an hour when all the other theological lectures were over, so that the students could all attend. In them the good Francke entered with candor into all the faults and failings of student life. He lived to derive from them greater blessings, as he said, than from all his other lectures.

Francke's renown throughout the world has come, more than from ^{Founds his} ~~Orphan House.~~ aught else, from his Orphan House. As everything which ~~Orphan House.~~ is marked by the spirit of God has the "mustard-seed" character, and has grown from small beginnings, so was it with this great enterprise of Christian benevolence. It was the custom that on a certain day beggars should seek alms at private houses. Not satisfied with giving them merely bread for their bodies, Francke began to catechise them, both the old and the young. He discovered among them such utter ignorance of religion, that he began to think of providing a school for them. He set up a little alms-box and gathered contributions for this object. He at once received four thalers and sixteen groschen, and took courage to begin a little school in his own study. In less than a year he found the place too small. He was pained, however, to see that the children's home-life destroyed what his school had builded up. He therefore formed the idea of taking the entire training of a few children upon himself. A house was purchased for this poor school. Twelve orphans, to which number the four with whom he began quickly increased, were received into it. The next year a new house was purchased. The instruction of the orphans and that of the children of town's-people were separated. For pupils prepared to take up advanced studies, a new department was opened (1699). Out of this grew the Orphan House Gymnasium, or Latin School, as it was termed, which even in 1709 was attended by two hundred and fifty-six children, of whom sixty-four were orphans. The two houses proved so inadequate for the increasing numbers that in 1698, the foundation for the new buildings of the Orphan House, as it is now, had to be laid. There was no capital at hand, upon which the new enterprise could depend. It rested wholly upon faith. As Francke says, "From week to week, from month to month, has the

Lord crumbled to me, even as one crumbles the bread to little chickens, what the immediate exigency has demanded." Others, after him, have tried to do the same, and have been like the man who began to build a tower, but could not finish it, and was mocked of the passers-by. "Empty thyself, I will fill thee," is the first lesson to be learned by every one whom God would make rich. Unless the humility which will forego self be mingled with believing courage, in equal measure, there will no success follow.

One good thought and plan stirs up another. Francke's inventive benevolence, after doing great things, was by no means exhausted. Additional institutions of charity were added to the Orphan House. By one wealthy benefactor Francke was intrusted with four thousand thalers, to found an establishment for Christian unmarried women, whether noble or common. One of the Glaucha taverns, "The Corsair," was purchased (1704), and devoted to God for this purpose. Already (1698) the devout baron Canstein had purchased a house in Glaucha for pious widows, and intrusted it to the Orphan House directors. Besides the schools already named for orphans and for the children of the citizens and of the poor, there was established a grammar-school for the children of the wealthy and noble. This too had a small and unexpected beginning. A noble widow came to Francke for a pious tutor. Francke himself professed to teach in Halle the children of noble families, but the number of pupils under the renowned teacher grew so that by 1713 a grand building was erected for their accommodation. A catechetical school (*collegium catecheticum*) was organized in connection with the university in which the students might exercise themselves with the children of the Orphan House in the very neglected art of catechizing. Also an Oriental theological school (*collegium orientale theologicum*), in which men should be trained for the higher posts in the church, by acquiring a thorough knowledge of the Greek, Hebrew, and Oriental languages. As the grammar-school prospered more and more, there was a desire for a like institution for the daughters of noble and wealthy families. Such a one was established in 1709, with the expressed purpose of leading the hearts of these also to the Lord.

For teaching all these schools much youthful talent was, of course, demanded. But when faith has begun to exert all its power for God, one hand assists the other. Francke's success in teaching was wonderfully furthered by this, that so many young students could obtain a support while practicing their gifts of teaching under the oversight of himself or of his like-minded associates. A free table was opened (1690) for twenty-four students who taught in the schools. As the number grew, other needy students were admitted who did not teach. Francke reported in 1714 that "one hundred and fifty theological students have the privilege of the 'ordinary' table in return for two

hours' teaching each day. At the 'extraordinary' dinner, one hundred and fifty-four students are accommodated without any return being required."

By the year 1705, the number of orphans had grown to one hundred and twenty-five, of school-children to eight hundred and four, and until the middle of the century they continued to increase. The foes of the schools lent help. An investigation, set on foot by them, and conducted by the notables of the duchy of Magdeburg, redounded to the credit of the schools. In May, 1714, one thousand and seventy-five boys, and seven hundred and sixty girls, were instructed by one hundred and eight teachers. This increase called for other establishments of various kinds, especially to afford employment to the orphans. These became very extensive. Particularly was this true of the Orphan House apothecary store. Some secret remedies, of which the chemical formulas had been intrusted in manuscripts by Christian people to Francke, were, after various failures, successfully prepared. For example, the now well-known "essentia amara," and "essentia dulcis." They were used with extraordinary success. Under the leadership of the devout and scholarly physician, Richter, who had placed the profits of his work, as well as his patrimony, at the disposal of his pastor, Francke, this dispensary and its preparations gained such renown, especially through the confidence felt in it by Christian people, that its medicines went beyond Germany, and even to America and Africa. The profit resulting covered in a large part the expense of the institution. There also arose the Orphan House book establishment, in part called for by the wants of the schools, and by the numerous publications issued by Francke. It was conducted by that distinguished Christian, Elers, who put his income at the disposal of the Orphan House, and was content to receive clothing and food. The business grew so greatly that it required warehouses in distant cities, in Stettin and in Berlin.

Two other great enterprises, less closely connected with the Orphan House, were yet promoted by it. One was the Bible House for the circulation of cheap Bibles among the poor, which was originated by the baron Von Canstein. Begun with the help of Francke, and of the Orphan House presses, it was after the death of Canstein (1719) carried on by Francke himself. Through stereotyping, a copy of the New Testament was sold for two groschen, of the entire Bible for ten or twelve groschen. This benefaction extended beyond the borders of Germany. Bibles and Testaments were printed in the language of Estonia, Bohemia, and Poland, for the evangelical Christians of those countries, through the help of benevolent citizens. For the constantly enlarging business, massive buildings were erected, the first in 1727, the second in 1734. With help from Francke the Danish East India mission sprang up, unsought and unexpected. It was begun

The Bible and
the foreign
work.

by the devotion of Frederick Fourth, of Denmark, but the missionaries went from the Halle Orphan House, and were supported by German Christians. The work received from Francke especial regard and care. The first candidates from Halle for this mission, Ziegenbald and Plütschau, were ordained in Copenhagen in 1705; many most excellent men, chiefly from the college of grammar-school teachers, have succeeded them, even down to the present century. Finally, the German-American churches in the United States owe their real foundation to the Halle schools. Their connection with Halle began under G. Francke, the son of the blessed founder. At the earnest prayers of the Germans in America, destitute of religious leaders, he sent thither, in 1742, pastors Mühlenberg and Brunnholz. Others, supported by the benevolence of Germany, followed in their train.

To all this business activity of the tireless Francke, we must add his numerous books, partly scholarly, partly edifying, of which many, as for example his "Directions for Profitable Bible-Reading," attained a very large circulation, and were sent out from the Orphan House presses in repeated editions; then, his many long journeys, in which he toiled as incessantly for God as when at home; and last his extended correspondence, relating to manifold concerns in all parts of the world.

This seems more than belongs to one man's life, but Francke's faithfulness proves that God can make "all grace abound, that we may abound to every good work." When his friend Secret of Francke's success. Elers was asked who had taught him everything, his answer was, "My mother—Love." Love was Francke's schoolmistress as well. Had he not had strengthening, helping hands, he had not done so much. This is an inspiring fact, that where a great light blazes with the love of God, many lesser lights begin to gleam around it. Francke's burning and shining light enkindled about it many kindred souls, a Richter, an Elers, a Canstein, a Neubauer, a Freylinghausen, and how many more! When king Frederick William First saw the Orphan House (1713), and was conducted through the bookstores and the warehouses, he was so amazed at the vast work that he asked Elers how much he got out of all this. "Your majesty," replied Elers, "only just what you see." Then the king clapped Francke upon the shoulder, and said, "Now I see how he accomplishes so much. I have no such servants."

The life thus tirelessly spent in God's service closed in 1727. The true servant of God went at sixty-four, well laden, to his home. He was suffered to declare his faith upon his death-bed in an affecting manner. This year he had in his grammar-school eighty-four pupils, in the Latin-school four hundred, in the citizens' school seventeen hundred and twenty-four, and in the Orphan House one hundred and thirty-four orphans. The Orphan House supplied food to two hundred and fifty-five students and three hundred and sixty poor scholars, in addition to the

orphans. In the girls' school were fifteen young persons; in the pension for young ladies, eight; and in the widows' house, six. Francke's noble, royal establishment stands to-day a living sermon to Halle, enjoying still a widening renown and large usefulness.¹ It is related of its founder that he had trustfully prayed God that in all time it might have at least one man who would be a witness of saving truth, and as far as we know, even in the days of the prevalence of rationalism, this prayer was heard. To-day the teachers here who live in the love and faith of Christ are by no means few.

All will conclude that the influence of Francke's spirit outside of Halle, and even of Germany, must have been very great. In all parts of the world germs of truth have been sown by him and his associates through the pupils of the Orphan House and of the Halle University. Halle students have been sought as spiritual teachers and pastors in America, in the German churches in Asiatic seaports, and even in the Greek convents of Mount Athos. When new schools arose and teachers were needed, when God-fearing families wanted tutors for their children, Halle was asked to supply them. If it be true that in no age have Germany and the German evangelical church had so many faithful and believing ministers as in the middle of the eighteenth century, it is because the seed sown by August Hermann Francke remained in the hearts receiving it. The Catholic churches of Germany and France looked with envious wonder to one who, had he been a member of their communion, would have been placed in the number of the saints.—A. T.

LIFE V. JOHN ALBERT BENGEL.

A. D. 1687—A. D. 1752. LUTHERAN, — GERMANY.

Of the successors of Spener, one of the most eminent was John Albert Bengel, who at his death was "prelate" and "member of consistory," in Stuttgart. In early childhood his loving and God-fearing ways seemed full of promise. Born June 24, 1687, in the county town of Wismenden, he when in his sixth year lost his father. A few months later, during an invasion of the French, the house purchased by his mother for her widowed home, along with his father's library, was burned to ashes. But his teacher, Spineller, showed the lad a father's faithfulness. He took him with him when compelled, by the events of war, to remove his school from one place to another. When Bengel was ready for the uni-

¹ The grammar-school numbers 100 pupils, and 18 teachers; the Latin school 389 scholars and 24 teachers; the industrial polytechnic school, 378 pupils; the German normal school, 10 scholars and 8 teachers; the citizens' school, for boys, 700 pupils and 35 teachers; the girls' high school, 130 pupils and 16 teachers; the citizens' school for girls, 400 pupils and 23 teachers; the free school, 680 pupils, while in the Orphan House are 130 orphan children.

versity, his mother was enabled, through her marriage with Herr Glöckler, a convent-steward, to help him on in his course of study. God's Word had already so affected the boy's heart as to fill him with a childlike faith, with an earnestness in prayer, with a desire for goodness, with delight in the Scriptures and in sacred songs, with a quick consciousness and a horror of what was evil. Best of all for Bengel, his goodness had no ado made over it. Now and then he gave way to youthful foolishness and frivolity. When this occurred, at once his inner guardian reproached him, and prevented evil from without fastening upon his life. He experienced, through the goodness of God, delightful hours of peace, especially at the time of his first communion. In Tübingen he enjoyed the twofold fortune of entrance into a circle of Christian students, and of finding teachers imbued with living faith in Christ, who zealously attended not only to their pupils' minds, but to their hearts. Foremost of these were the prayerful Christopher Reuchlin, and the distinguished pastor and lecturer, A. A. Hochstetter.

Progress at
Tübingen.

From these men Bengel received profit, especially after he had been quickened by a severe illness. While this brought him near to the grave in the midst of his studies, it awaked in him anew the resolve to devote his life to God's service and honor. Immediately upon leaving the university he was appointed, when only twenty, to be an assistant pastor in Metzingen. He learned here the views of the common people upon religion. Within a year, he returned to the theological school in Tübingen, to serve as "repetent" in aiding the younger students in their studies, enlarging at the same time his own circle of knowledge. For the sake of further culture he went upon a journey through Central Germany, meeting in the schools and universities many eminent men who, under the impulse given by Spener, were vying one with another in imparting to the rising generation a solid training based upon a living Christianity. He sought from men of different parties their most certain conclusions, and returned home, bringing with him precious acquirements. He found opportunity to practice what he knew as teacher of students for the ministry, in the recently founded convent-school of Denkendorf. His inaugural address indicated his aims. It made diligence in religion the sure help to genuine scholarship. Through it came the most vigorous and perfect development of all the powers; through it the indolence of the flesh was overcome, the mind kept from disturbance by passion, the soul filled with life, power, and clearness of vision. Thus the less gifted often surpassed, in their search for truth, the greatly gifted who lived estranged from God.

Bengel's were no vain words, for they were proven by twenty-eight years of untiring toil. From first to last, the same spirit animated him, as he taught, according to the very best preachers are trained by him. He knowledge and light, the throngs of youth who were sent to him. He

trained more than three hundred youth for the church of his country, not a few of whom partook of his godly spirit and became wise and eminent, filling with honor and usefulness the most important places. This was not, however, his only achievement within this period. He wrought in another direction even more widely. He was wont to read through the Greek New Testament, with his pupils, every two years. This fact led him on, both as a teacher and as a Christian, to undertake a new task. Before this he had been perplexed by the question, "Have we the New Testament as it was first written?" He could not answer it then, for lack of time and of opportunity for thorough investigation. Now he would take it up and satisfy his inquiring spirit. Living in little Denkendorf, he found immense obstacles in his way. He overcame them by his untiring zeal, and soon had such a precious collection, both of old manuscripts and of rare editions of the New Testament, that he could hope for success in seeking the answer to his problem. Bengel possessed not only diligence, but a peculiar penetration, by which he classified his materials, and proceeded from numbering the different readings to the more serious task of passing sentence upon them. He thus did a work which, if it was not perfect, surpassed everything which had hitherto been accomplished by the most learned investigator. He submitted to the learned public the result, which was highly favorable to the genuineness of the received text, both in a large work, which comprised the New Testament and the means of criticism upon it, and in a small work for students, which is still constantly republished in new editions. Along with this effort to restore the original text, he joined another which aimed at its interpretation. He proceeded upon the following principles: The Bible must be taken as a unit, as an incomparable, glorious account of the divine way of dealing with the human race through the ages, from the beginning to the end of all things. It must therefore be made, as far as possible, to explain itself. The interpreter must resolve to drag nothing into the Scriptures, and also to neglect and omit nothing that is there. Hence only a devout and

^{Publishes his} believing heart can unfold the Bible in its full power and "Gnomon." glory. What Bengel discovered by four years' diligent and prayerful investigation, he published in a commentary under the modest name of a "Gnomon." He considered his observation but an index, pointing the reader to a further study of the text of Scripture. This spirited work, abounding in significant suggestions as to the real meaning of the text, has proven so useful, especially in our day, that a third edition (1835), followed by many more, has been called for. The book has been made an authority by writers of commentaries, both in and out of Germany. Bengel's view of Scripture as a coherent system of God's plans for man, even to the end of all things, led him on to chronological and apocalyptic studies. In these he strove to harmonize Bible chrono-

nologies, and by the help of prophecy to map out the future of the kingdom of God. It was a task as arduous as bold, but was undertaken by him with the view that an expositor should leave nothing untouched which is presented in the Bible for our profit. Bengel was not blind to the obstacles in his way. While he believed that he was called to the work, he was very far from maintaining everything confidently, or considering his apocalyptic system faultless. He thought his reckoning of numbers might be erroneous, but that the great events which he indicated, and the practical lessons which he founded upon them, were stated correctly. His view in the main was: Over Europe impends a complete change in the relations of both church and state. Before the Roman papacy shall fully be proven antichrist, unbelief, mysticism, and perhaps Islamism, will blend together. Upon the overthrow of the personal antichrist, the better millennial days will ensue. These, Bengel thought, would be seen less in temporal prosperity than in an undisturbed, joyous increase of the kingdom of Christ upon the earth. This theory was published in his "Order of Ages," his "Cycle," his "Gospel Harmony," his "Revelation Explained," and in some smaller volumes. His practical lessons appeared in sixty edifying discourses upon the Gospel of John.

In the year 1741 Bengel left his place in the cloister school to be provost of Herbrechtingen. Here he found a new field. He preached to a little country church. He became a member of the consistory, taking part in the management of important church matters and also having a share in civil affairs. His impressive preaching stirred up the people. They asked him to give them private instruction in religion. This he did gladly, believing it the best way to exalt a fallen Christianity. He was equally wise in church rule. It was not the time, he said, for novelties, nor should we abandon the chariot of the church when in the wrong road, or try to help it by storming and blustering. We should let alone what we can, use whatever is useful, and seek above all else to be friends with all who love the Lord Jesus.

Bengel composed in this spirit his "Sketch of the Moravians" [under Zinzendorf], and is hence called by Frohberger the noblest and most helpful of their opponents, with the acknowledgment that his utterances have been of great service. As for the land of Würtemberg, it has still cause to thank Bengel and his friends that by their gentle and prudent rules respecting private devotional meetings, so opposed elsewhere, there was healthful provision made against the coming days of unbelief and of revolution.

Finally, it must be mentioned that Bengel by his songs, especially his "Daysman! Source of power," and "Word of the Father! Speak!" has made precious addition to the hymns of the evangelical church.

Turning to Bengel's private life we find him marrying Joanna Regina Seeger, June 5, 1714. His prayer that she should continue with him to

the end was answered. They lived one in spirit, Bengel testifying ^{Bengel's private} against the foes of marriage that "the most fruitful and life. precious experiences in affliction and in joy have come to me through the marriage relation." Twelve children were given them, of whom four daughters and two sons grew up. His manner of training is indicated by his saying, "The simplest teaching is the best; avoid everything artificial. Give the children a chance to know the Bible; if they fail to learn it all, they will retain a part. Commence with history, not with precept. Pleasure is afforded by examples, but not by commands. Overtaxing of the memory or of the mind produces mental sleepiness, satiety, self-assurance, self-conceit, and presumption. If every opportunity for gross conduct is taken away, youth will do better left to their own choice of innocent pursuits and pleasures than if kept under the dictation of others. Especially try to lead them to Christ in honesty of spirit and truthful simplicity." The result of his mode of training was that he had great joy and no heart-sore given him by his children. Death found Bengel ready. He had from youth thought of eternity, and his impressions were deepened by severe illnesses. At last he was beset by the maladies of old age. He was led then to turn from the circumference of truth to its centre, from helps to truth to the very essence. He said, "I look upon myself as an old decaying tree, and rejoice at the springing up about me of the young green shoots. The more I withdraw my mind from human renown, the sweeter grows my communion with God. By his fatherly will, I live on, till He shall ordain my end. I have nothing to plead except my Jesus. I commend me to my faithful Creator, my well-known Redeemer, my tried Comforter, and desire nothing save to be found justified in his presence." He died in Stuttgart, November 2, 1752. — J. C. F. B.

LIFE VI. NICHOLAS LEWIS, COUNT VON ZINZENDORF.

A. D. 1700—A. D. 1760. MORAVIAN, — GERMANY.

"CHRISTIANS are God's people, begotten of his Spirit, obedient to Him, enkindled by his fire. To be near the Bridegroom is their very life; his blood is their glory. Before the majesty of the betrothed of God, kingly crowns grow pale; a hut to them becomes a palace. Sufferings under which heroes would pine are gladly borne by loving hearts which have grown strong through the cross." In these words, spoken in 1731 to a royal princess of Denmark, he whom we now commemorate portrayed, without having purposed it, his own character.

Nicholas Lewis, count of Zinzendorf and Pottendorf, sprang from a very ancient noble family in Austria, upon which the rank of imperial

count was conferred in the year 1662. His ancestors had, in the age of the Reformation, turned to the gospel. In order to enjoy liberty of conscience his grandfather had left his ancient inheritance, and settled in Franconia, not far from Nürnberg. His father, a Christian statesman and court minister of electoral Saxony, had taken part with Spener, and had received from him, when forming a second marriage with the baroness Von Gersdorf, his wishes that they might be given a pious posterity and godly wisdom, by which to save them from the prevailing degeneracy. "For," said Spener, "in these corrupt times it seems to men almost impossible to bring up children, of the higher rank especially, as Christians." Nicholas Lewis, who was born May 26, 1700, was the only child of this marriage. Six weeks after his birth the father died. Four years later the mother married the Prussian field-marshall Von Nazmer. The boy remained with his grandmother, Madame von Gersdorf, in Gross-Hennersdorf, in Upper Lusatia. Here he was educated, in the way approved of Spener, by his maiden aunt, Henrietta von Gersdorf, and by a tutor who shared her spirit. Spener was his godparent, along with the electoral princesses of Saxony and of the Palatinate. In a visit, shortly before the close of his life, to Gross-Hennersdorf, Spener laid his hands on the boy of four years and gave him his blessing. Zinzendorf himself has said, "My dear grandmother kept me for ten years in her own chamber, my aunt Henrietta prayed with me morning and evening, and passed the day in accord with the prayer." He proved a "mother's scholar" of the best kind. "In my fourth year," he says, "I began to seek God with such earnestness as accorded with my childish notions. From that time especially, it was my steadfast resolve to become a true servant of the crucified Jesus. The first profound impression upon my heart was made by what my mother told me of my blessed father, and of his hearty love for the martyred person of the Saviour. . . . I recollect weeping once very bitterly because, in family worship, I lost, by falling asleep, the verse, Thou art our dear father, because Christ is our brother. This thought sweetly impressed me in my fourth or fifth year, for I believed that as soon as one was pardoned, he was in the company of the Saviour as a brother." At this time of his childhood Zinzendorf wrote tender letters to the Saviour, and threw them out of the window, confident that the Lord would receive and read them. Already what he afterwards said of himself was true: "I have but one passion, it is He, only He." That was the day of sensibility and of false sentimentality, of playing at shepherd and shepherdess by persons in long wigs. Zinzendorf was, by nature, very susceptible. He may have fallen into a familiar and almost sensual phraseology in his expressions of tender love to the Lamb of God, who died for us. Yet his sentimentality was connected with the highest and noblest subjects, was natural and hearty, and joined with it

A "mother's scholar."

was fiery energy, courage, and self-devotion. The knowledge and experience which the Holy Spirit gave to him are everywhere seen, even through the weak and effeminate forms in which a heart, which was united to the Crucified, cleansed by his blood, and joyful in his benefits, tells its emotions.

Very early this heart was tried by deep-reaching speculations. "In my youthful con- eighth year," he says, "I was led by a song which my flicts. grandmother sang at bedtime into a reverie and profound speculation which kept me awake the whole night, and made me unconscious of hearing or seeing. The most subtle atheistic notions entered my mind. I was so wrought upon by them, and so prostrated, that all which I have read and heard since of unbelieving doubts prove very shallow and weak, and make no impression upon me." By the use of his will, the boy subdued at once and forever this assault. "What I believed, that I willed," he says; "what I fancied, that grew odious to me. I resolved at once to use my understanding in earthly things whenever necessity arose, and to brighten and to sharpen it, since by it only could progress be made; but in spiritual things to abide simply by the truth apprehended in the heart, making this the foundation for the acquirement of more truth. What I could not bring into connection therewith I resolved to cast utterly away." Thus Zinzendorf's theology became, in accordance with its origin, a heart theology. It was free from all refinements respecting the foundations and the abysses of existence. It aimed with its entire strength at Christian living and doing. This it was which gave it limitation, but also power.

When ten years of age, Zinzendorf was sent in the company of a badly selected tutor to the Halle grammar-school, then under charge of its venerable founder, Francke. Many lovely spirits were coming to Halle to live, or to sojourn for a day. The Halle Pietists were in communication with many countries. In 1715, Ziegenbald, the missionary, came from the East Indies upon a visit, bringing with him some baptized Malays from Malabar. The young count, who may, perhaps, have been more tried than was necessary by well-meant endeavors to humble his aspiring spirit, lived in a congenial element in the midst of loving Christian words and deeds. A glow of love ascended from his soul up to his Lord. Never did he sing a song that was not full of the deepest Christian thought and fervent love of Jesus. His most beautifully simple hymns are his earliest, dating from his thirteenth year forward. After his first communion he composed a song of which the beginning and end are as follows:—

"Lo! at last dawns the hour, God appears in his power, He my vision delighteth, with my spirit uniteth."

"I behold his dear dying, see his enemies flying, heav'n he enters, still minding lost men's saving and finding."

Even then his mind was set upon active effort and association with

friends of like spirit. With a few comrades he formed a pious league, whose members called themselves first "Servants of Virtue," then the "Association of Confessors of Jesus Christ;" but at last adopted the name of the "Order of the Grain of Mustard-Seed" [Senfkorn-Orden]. Their seal was an *Ecce Homo*, with the inscription, "Our Wounds' Healing" (*Nostra Medela*). With Frederick of Wattewille, Zinzendorf made an especial compact for the conversion of the heathen, and of those especially to whom no one else would go. Thus his school-life became a prophecy of his after career.

He was sixteen years old when his guardian permitted him to go to the university, and to the one most strictly opposed to the Pietists of Halle, namely, Wittenberg. He was there to cultivate his noble gifts for an honorable career in the service of his state, and to tone down his religious zeal to such a measure as would enable him to attain worldly success. With obedient spirit Zinzendorf gave himself to the study of the law, but was true to his glowing love to his Saviour. He celebrated the jubilee of the Reformation (1717) with a song of penitence. The Halle strictness respecting card-playing, dancing, and the like, went with him to Wittenberg, but was not so thoroughly accepted by him that he did not have many misgivings about this rigid discipline. In his intercourse with the Wittenberg professors, who in their way were also pious, he became aware that the "orthodox" were not all foes of Christian living, and that all true piety was not found among the Pietists. He saw right and wrong on both sides, and the youth of eighteen ventured to think of making peace between Halle and Wittenberg. This work of love was forbidden him by his relatives. Yet his well-meant endeavors had at least this result, that there was brought about a conference, not devoid of fruits, between Francke and the worthy senior court-preacher Löscher in Dresden.

The guardians now in charge of Zinzendorf, planning to withdraw sustenance from his mental tendency to a spiritual life, which Studies in Holland. found support in Wittenberg as well as in Halle, removed him to Utrecht, where he arrived on his nineteenth birthday. He himself writes, "I came to Utrecht University with my Wittenberg theories and Halle practices, which made me a peculiar species of young traveling man, of which many edifying particulars might be repeated." On his journey his mind was specially withdrawn from earth and turned with desire to Jesus. He saw in the Düsseldorf picture gallery a painting of the *Ecce Homo* with the inscription in Latin, "This have I done for thee; what hast thou done for me?" and was greatly impressed by it. In Utrecht he read, together with his law, Spener's "Theological Views," acquired English, and entered into theological controversies with the reformed and with the doctors of philosophy, and soon found out that his reasonings were often insufficient. After a while he continued his travels to Paris, which was the resort of other young German nobles for the sake

of the excitements of the luxurious city, and the pleasures of its court. Zinzendorf not only lived with thoroughly pure morals, but sought the acquaintance of earnest Christians among the priests and bishops of the Catholic communion, and indeed became quite intimate with the devout archbishop of Paris, cardinal Noailles. He found the prelates as firmly established in their church belief as he was in his. They soon agreed on both sides to lay aside controversy in order to join in the love of Christ. At a later date (1738) he wrote, "Moreover, I cherish and highly esteem, according to my way, all who love Jesus. I would consider myself very unhappy to be counted an alien by any Catholic who loves Christ, although in many points I differ wholly from their opinions." Zinzendorf had no thought of destroying creeds as boundary marks defining the different households of God. Joining with the Moravian brethren, with the Reformed, and with the Lutherans, in sacramental fellowship, he would yet not offer this symbol of fraternity to that great corporation which failed to make a right distinction between believers and unbelievers.

Zinzendorf, now twenty-one, burned with desire to serve his Lord with a new and complete offering. He waited an occasion to begin the work which he was dimly conceiving. He thought he had found this when, upon his return from Paris, he was asked during a visit to Halle to take the place of the deceased baron Von Canstein, who had there established the first institution for the circulation of the Bible. He was refused the consent of his friends to his acceptance of the office. They held to the hope of seeing him rise in the state service of Saxony. He submitted to their desires, and became a counselor of court and of justice under the government. Having come of age he married, and purchased of his grandmother the estate of Berthelsdorf, bordering upon her property of Gross-Hennersdorf, and comprising the uncultivated Hutberg. Zinzendorf's bride was a countess Reuss, the sister of his friend Henry Twenty-ninth, of Ebersdorf. December 22, 1722, the count and his bride visited for the first time their newly acquired property. The road brought the travelers, in a winter's night, to the foot of the Hutberg. Through the forest gleamed a light shining from a newly builded dwelling. It was the residence of the first of the exiled Moravian Brethren, ^{Meets the Moravians.} who had begun to build here upon June 17th, and had occupied their home in the month of October. Zinzendorf entered the cottage, kindly saluted the brethren, and, falling upon his knees, earnestly asked the blessing of God upon the new settlers. This was the beginning of Herrnhut.

The successors of the Hussites, at times tolerated, at times persecuted, had ever since 1468 preserved among the mountains of Bohemia and Moravia a church organization, as nearly apostolic as possible, and adapted to their condition. This they called the *Unitas Fratrum*, or Brethren's

Unity. In the time of the Reformation they established intercourse with the Lutherans, and received their approval. They prized their own discipline too highly, however, to consent to give it up and to be merged into the great mass of the evangelical church. A new revival among them had in the beginning of the eighteenth century, stirred up fresh persecutions by the Romanists. Many among them resolved, therefore, to emigrate. They sought for a place where they could worship God unmolested. By the recommendation of Schäfer, the preacher in Görlitz, they were directed to Berthelsdorf. The count, upon the intercession of his pious steward, consented that a place of refuge should be granted them, provisionally, upon his estate. The first of the persecuted brethren had erected, almost without the aid of Zinzendorf, their first dwellings upon the Hutberg. But very early the count recognized in these colonists, whose number soon increased, the material furnished him of God, from which and by which he was to shape and establish the enterprise for which God had chosen and endowed him. He conceived the thought of implanting in this susceptible folk the love of the Lord, the bleeding Lamb, and to make them thus a leaven in the midst of a dead Christianity. The devoted preacher Rothe, a man of Spener's spirit, whom the count called to Berthelsdorf, entered into his views. The new fold, full of Christian life, attracted many awakened spirits who, because of their enthusiasm and separatism, were no longer at home in the decayed church of Germany. In this notable mingling of spirits aspiring minds rose, and by their various natures threatened the new foundation with destruction through fanaticism, schism, and conflict. The count from his superior position strove to put down discord, and his honest intention received help from God at the moment when it was needed. August 13, 1727, at a celebration of the Lord's Supper in Berthelsdorf, amid flowing tears, the spirit of love was shed upon the prepared spirits of the multitude. The fruits of this day of grace, the memory of which is still celebrated, were never lost.

The constitution, customs, and worship of the new community were founded upon the ancient rules of the Moravian Brethren. Becomes leader of the Moravians. Zinzendorf was the soul of the new creation. To prevent the destruction of their church life, they declined a union with the Lutheran church, and a place in the state church, though urged thereto by preachers Schäfer and Rothe. And yet by the impress made by Zinzendorf upon the new community, it was essentially a part of the German Lutheran church, whose fervor of feeling as an animating spirit here found its first complete development. The ardor of the Lutheran laity, which could show itself elsewhere only in church singing, here obtained free course. Lay patronage, which by others was so mechanically exercised, was gloriously used by Zinzendorf. While the office of preacher was left all its authority and dignity, the lively coöperation of other church

officers so disposed of the distinction between clergy and laity, which Lutheranism had copied from Romanism, that the church as a whole deemed themselves God's people. The preacher's office and the patron's office were looked upon in the apostolical sense as intended wholly for the brotherly serving of the church, in accordance with Christ's words, "One is your Master, all ye are brethren."

Zinzendorf with deep and far-reaching mind knew that the new society could secure a firm footing and lasting existence in the family of Christian churches, only by a public subscription of the Augsburg Confession, by a regular clergy, and by a retention of the old office of bishop, handed down from the Moravians. He therefore arranged that the bishop's office should be preserved in the community by the laying on of the hands of one of the old bishops of the martyr-church. This secured the Brethren official recognition by the Church of England, which she has been so unfortunate as to deny to the Lutheran church of Germany. Zinzendorf himself wished to take the clerical office. Laying down his civil position he passed examinations in Stralsund and Tübingen to obtain ordination. In 1737 he became a bishop of the Brethren in active service. But thoroughly as he was joined to the new society, he in no way suffered himself to be circumscribed, by this union or by his adherence to Lutheranism, in his general mission to needy souls. In a church conference in Herrendyk, near Amsterdam (1741), he uttered these frank words: "I am appointed of God the Lord to declare the word of Christ's blood and death, not by art, but by divine power, without regard to what may befall me. This was my calling, before I knew aught of the Moravian Brethren. I am and shall remain united with the Moravian Brethren who have embraced our Christian gospel heartily, and have called me and other brethren into the service of their church. Yet I do not separate myself thereby from the Lutheran church, for I can continue God's witness in her communion. I can tie my testimony to no denomination; the whole earth is the Lord's, and men's souls are all his. I am a debtor to all. I shall in the future lack opposition no more than in the past, but the word of Jesus the crucified is the power of God, and the wisdom of God; whoever opposes it will be put to shame."

The opposition to Zinzendorf was as extensive as his activity. What His great activity. mind could reckon in how many places he sought to win souls to Christ, among high and low, without respect of persons? From Switzerland to Lithuania, in Wetterau and in Berlin, in Holland and in England, in the far-away regions of North America and in the huts of the slaves on the isle of St. Thomas, his footsteps can be traced, and his word never returned void. To some, it was a savor of life unto life, to others a savor of death unto death. Twice he was obliged to leave Saxony for a long period, yet without the community of Herrnhut, which numbered six hundred souls and was still increasing,

suffering any injury. Zinzendorf attended by his pilgrim company went about, founded new colonies in different lands, preached, sang, and wrote, for the glory of the name of Jesus. By the establishing of independent communities it was provided that the Brethren should be able to serve God in their own way, separate from the world, and bring up their children, their sons and their daughters, in their own belief. Those who were friendly to them, here and there (whom they entitled the *Disasspora*), were constantly visited, and given spiritual nourishment. Through them the Brethren were able more truly to become the salt of the earth. Upon the fixed theology of the universities the Moravians made little impression. They had simply a few adherents among the clergy who were inclined to pietism. John Wesley was indebted to two Moravian Brethren, with whom he made a *voyage* to North America, for his enlightenment as to justification through faith only. He made a visit to Herrnhut, but was attracted neither to the count nor to the community. Wesley and Zinzendorf were alike in their aims and efforts, but each had been given of God, when adopted as his child, an original character. They were so directed in their fields of labor, that they did not dare venture upon a union. No more could the Würtemberg theologian, John Albert Bengel, so full of unction and of learning, join with Zinzendorf in the latter's mode of working for souls. Zinzendorf knew how to apply the Scriptures to life, but not how to explain them, in their connection, one part with another. Zinzendorf's nearest associates were the Pietists, out of whose bosom he sprang. But they were too full of anxious scruples and of legalistic notions for him. They could not take part in his free, joyous demonstrations. In the kingdom of God there are manifold forms, which exclude one the other. But there is yet one Spirit, who unites all of them, who uses the varied gifts of grace in differing spheres for the same high object, the establishment of the divine government.

Zinzendorf, from youth, was familiar with the customs of the polite world and of courts. He moved with ease and confidence in the highest circles. He did not attach any value, however, to these things in themselves, but used all his relations simply for Christ's cause and kingdom. He was in great favor in the court of Denmark, and received an invitation in June, 1731, to the coronation of king Christian Sixth. He there made the acquaintance of the chief royal equerry, count Laurwig, whose valet Anton, a negro slave from the Danish West India island of St. Thomas, told Zinzendorf of the sad state of the negroes there, and of the longing of his own sister Anna to know the true God. At the same time, the count saw two Greenlanders from Egede's Danish mission, and formed the idea of lending aid to this faithful laborer. Found Moravian missions. This was the first suggestion of the Moravian missions to the West Indies and to Greenland. Soon after (1732), the mission work

of the Brethren was begun, amid the scoffs of the world, with the simplest means but with strong faith. It has continued with the greatest blessing to the present day. The count's youthful dream was fulfilled, that he should give the gospel to the heathen, and to the most wretched among them, whom no one else would approach. When the brethren sent by him and by the Unity were taken in the midst of their amazingly successful work in the West Indies, and were thrown into prison and into great peril by the hate of the planters, who were not willing that their slaves should become Christians, the count sailed over the sea, and accomplished the liberation of the prisoners and the inauguration of a better state of things. He was ever by the side of his people, confessing himself one with the abused and despised, never sparing himself, and by apostolical fidelity fulfilling what he had vowed to the Lord in his youth at Halle,—to labor to convert the heathen, the degraded races of the earth, negro slaves, Greenlanders, Esquimaux, and Hottentots.

With his faith in God, and in the power of the blood of Jesus to save the miserably perishing pagans, and to renew God's image within them, Zinzendorf joined the thought that the loftiest and most mighty ones of earth were only wretched sinners, to receive forgiveness of sins, life, and salvation, from Christ, through repentance and faith. When he heard that king Frederick William First of Prussia was near his end, he was impelled by the love of Christ to prove his gratitude to this prince, who had shown him much kindness, by directing his attention with all deference to the salvation of his soul. It redounds to the king's honor that, although somewhat against his flesh, he gently and heartily suffered Zinzendorf to speak or rather to write to him. The subject of religion was discussed by them in writing, and the remarkable letters which they exchanged are still in existence.

Zinzendorf, from childhood, abode in Christ's grace, walked before Him, and held converse with Him, as if he beheld Him with his bodily eyes. On his journeys he would often leave his carriage, walk alone, and utter to Christ words such as these: "O my Saviour, if I could but lay before Thee my plans, from beginning to end!" Thus he became assured of the pureness of his work. Thus, when his rash nature, passionate temperament, and boundless imagination carried him into excesses or false measures, he was set right again by his Master. When people were thinking that he was in an exciting passion, which would soon break forth, they were amazed to find him again in all the dignity and calmness of a child of God. Once, by a slight irregularity before the time of evening prayers, he was thrown into the greatest excitement, and for an hour long administered wrathful reproof. But directly after he appeared in the prayer-room and uttered an address full of emotion, with the purest priestly spirit.

Zinzendorf was of only middling stature, and in later years inclined to

corpulency. But his countenance glowed with a holy light, which was shed from his dark brown eyes over all his features. In his bearing there was a hearty affability joined with noble manners and priestly devotion. His wife, who was his excellent helpmeet, died in 1756. The year after he married (June 27th) Anna Nitschmann, who was, from her faithfulness in God's service, the universally acknowledged elder sister of the church. This choice he made from regard to his need of an associate. She survived him but a few days (dying May 21, 1760). Zinzendorf's first marriage was blessed with many children, of whom most died in infancy or in childhood. His son Christian Renatus, called away in youth, is still known among all the faithful by his hymn, "O passion divine, can man e'er forget thee," and especially by the last stanza, "As now we assemble all here together," with which brethren in Christ have so often accompanied the last pressure of the hand when they were separating.

The people of Herrnhut were increased in 1760 to thirteen hundred persons. Upon May 3d of this year, the count welcomed home one of the oldest of the Moravian Brethren who had been ^{His closing days.} present, May 12, 1729, on the day of the laying of the foundation of the first meeting-house. He had not seen the place for twenty-one years, he and his wife having been all this time in the service of God in Holland, England, Ireland, and America. The count himself took these returned friends around, and showed them everything that had been done in the time intervening. In the evening he joined with a great company in a love-feast, and there delivered his last address, whose key-note was in the words of a song composed by him at an earlier date:—

"The glory of Herrnhut shall end in that hour when hindrance shall rise to God's work in its power."

May 4th was Sunday. Zinzendorf, as had been his wont for many years, spent the entire afternoon in retirement, communing with God respecting himself and his plans for the church under his care. "That blessed look, often seen in him when he was in the spirit on the Lord's day, attracted those nearest him to go close to him, not to address him, which they carefully avoided, but simply to cast a glance upon him. The last Sundays of his life his eyes had more than once been seen full of tears, giving them such a blessed expression as impressed deeply the hearts of his most attached friends."

Upon May 5th he arose, after an almost sleepless night, with a severe rheumatic fever. Still he went to work, paid a visit to his sick wife, and in the evening attended a love-feast, at which a song of thirty-six verses, which he had composed upon the day before for the use of the young women, was in part sung and in part recited. After the love-feast, he remained in private conversation with his three daughters, and some other members of his family. He said, among other things, that when he had

been sick before, he had sought for the reason of his sickness and for what God intended it, and when he found a reason, he had preferred to tell it to his friends rather than keep it to himself. He knew that it was not displeasing to the Master for one to declare himself publicly to his friends as a sinner. Thereby discipline was made easier. But this time he was sure that the Saviour did not intend such a message by his sickness, for he was so happy in his mind, and in accord with his Master.

The morning of May 8th he was cheerful, although his fever was increased. He received visitors with an expression of tenderest love, and said, "I know not how to declare how dear you all are to me. We seem indeed even as the angels, and as if already in heaven." To one standing by he said, "At the first, would you have ever thought that Christ's prayer 'that they all may be one' would have been so blessedly fulfilled among us?" In the afternoon he completed some work, thanked God for his many benefits, shown to himself and to the community, addressing to David Nitschmann and others the words, "Would you, at the first, have thought that the Master would do as much as we now see with our eyes, for our communities, and for God's children here and there throughout the world, and for the heathen? I had only looked for some first-fruits, and behold we have grown to thousands." His last words, spoken to his son-in-law, were, "My good John, I will go to the Saviour now. I am ready; I am devoted to my Lord's will, and He is content with me. If He needs me no longer here, I am ready to go to Him; there is nothing in the way." Soon after he breathed forth his soul amid the church's benediction, spoken by John of Watteville in a single word, "Peace." This was at ten o'clock on the morning of May 9, 1760, when he was sixty years old, lacking a few days. May 16th, towards evening, he was committed to the "God's acre" of Hutsberg, in sacred, holy stillness, amid the thronging thousands. Upon the stone which covers his grave may be read beneath his name the inscription, "He was ordained to bring forth fruit, and that his fruit should remain." Who would not say amen to this? Amen! — H. E. S.

LIFE VII. ALEXANDER ROUSSEL.

A. D. 1700?—A. D. 1728. REFORMED, — FRANCE.

THE Reformed church in France, upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, met a persecution which aimed at her utter destruction. Such wrongs and outrages were visited upon the Protestants as stirred the hot blood of the south to fever heat. The war of despair by the Camisards, or people of the Cévennes, was a struggle of fanatic strength against rude violence. It was not according to the mind of Him who said, "Put

up thy sword into his place! for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." The rising was put down (1713). In place of bearing the sword, the French Reformed were to take up the cross. Patiently, trustfully, hopefully, lovingly, they were to show the world how "the church under the cross" is able to live in the very jaws of death.

The Reformed church in Languedoc, in Vivarais, in both the upper and lower Cévennes, rose up out of desolation. She was yet strong in faith, though all her schools had been closed, all her churches destroyed, all her seminaries for clergy blotted out. In the face of many dangers, in the presence of hostile troops, the people met by night, quietly, secretly, in caves, in thickets, on the plain, or under the mountain precipices, far away from human dwellings, to serve God by prayer and to nourish their souls with the word of life. None that was not consecrated to the cause was allowed to know their places of meeting. They went "into the wilderness;" they preached "in the wilderness;" they wrote, exhorted, or comforted "from the wilderness." The clergy availed themselves of this general term to conceal the places whence they put forth effort by word or pen, and also to mark their church as one persecuted. These assemblies "in the wilderness" began in 1712, and continued steadfastly the entire century, and were the refuge of the Reformed confession in France.

In the absence of ordained ministers, those of the people who were moved thereto, some of them women, delivered exhortations. No church constitution was possible. In August, 1715, just after the death of Louis Fourteenth, an assembly of Reformed preachers and intelligent laymen was convoked at Nismes by Antoine Court, Work of Antoine Court. the noble, divine, and scholar, gifted alike in soul and body, in strength of faith and purity of life, who has been entitled "The Restorer of Protestantism in France." By this assembly a number of elders were chosen, who were to make provisions for safe places of meeting for the pastors, the poor, and the prisoners. In March, 1717, a third synod in Languedoc gave full validity to the new church constitution. Since hardly any ordained ministers remained, Court sent his assistant, Corteis, to Zürich for ordination. From the latter he himself received, in a synod, the laying on of hands, so as to administer ordination to other ministers, and to restore the apostolic order in Languedoc and the Cévennes. Thus the persecuted put themselves in position to build up the church order as the pillar of Christian life even on the smoking ashes of the Camisard wars, and amid the vagaries of their "prophets." So strict was their government that unqualified ministers were deposed, and no one was allowed even to lead in psalm-singing without the consent of the elders. The churches were in connection not only with one another, but also with their brethren sentenced to the galley. They sent to the latter, by trusty messengers, comforts for both body and soul. The clergy had to

steal from place to place, often in very strange disguises. The congregations set sentinels on the heights, with signals agreed upon, using every precaution and secret device to evade their persecutors. Every night the preachers shifted their abodes. Their adherents counted it an honor to run the risk of the punishment to which their entertainment exposed them. Often and horribly enough was it sent upon them, through bribed traitors, or through a deadly ambuscade inclosing an assembly, and bringing ministers and people to cruel death or imprisonment.

It was the hope of the Reformed that the death of Louis Fourteenth would bring better times. In this hope many of the fugitives to other countries had returned. But the regent of France, the duke of Orleans, from carelessness and indifference, made no change in the laws against the Protestants. At the best, he substituted for the desired butchery of all the Reformed the disarming of them and the execution of their ministers. The disarmed were sent to the galleys. They were forced, also, in the time of the plague in Marseilles, to bury the dead. Women were put in prison. Places of worship were torn down. After the regent's death (1724), the duke of Bourbon was moved by the bishop of Nantes, who wished to earn a cardinal's hat by severity towards heretics, to publish a new and stern edict. The government would, however, be content if the Reformed would conform outwardly to Romanism. The priests were to give the Sacrament without question to any who would receive it. But whoever was a steadfast Protestant must away to the galleys or the gallows. Nevertheless, in this grievous day the religious assemblies in Languedoc were all the more frequent and wide-spread, even if overtaken often by the troops and dragged to punishment. It was the lot of Labors of Court and others. the few ministers to live night and day in perils in the wilderness, in perils by water, in perils in the cities, in perils among assassins, in perils among false brethren; in care and toil, in hunger and thirst, in cold and nakedness. Amid such dangers, Court held, in the space of two months, thirty assemblies, mostly in the night, in the mountains and deserts of Languedoc and in the Cévennes up and down under the open sky, preaching, administering the Lord's Supper, baptizing in this time fifteen children, and solemnizing fifteen marriages.

The places where the meetings were held remained unknown to the ministers themselves, since they arrived and departed in the night. The believers received and escorted them by the most hidden ways. The meetings were opened with prayer, a chapter of Scripture was read, a psalm was sung with suppressed voices; then, after a prayer by the minister for power to proclaim rightly the word of God, the sermon was delivered, at times the Supper was administered, and the service was closed with a general prayer, with petitions for the king and all in authority. For a precaution, sentinels, but without arms, were placed on

the heights. The preacher purposely remained ignorant of the names of those baptized or married, and of the other participants in the meeting, so as not to be able to state them before a court. For his clothing and support, the preacher of the wilderness received gifts, but without knowing from whom. The assemblies were so large that the smallest would have three thousand members. For the support of youth who felt a call to the preacher's office, that is, to "martyrdom in the church under the cross," and who entered for this purpose the seminary in Lausanne, contributions were made by believers in Switzerland, England, Holland, and Germany. Antoine Court was made (1730) "general deputy" for the management of this business.¹

One of these youthful "shepherds in the wilderness" and heroes of faith was Alexander Roussel, of Uzès. We know neither the date of his birth nor his parentage. We find him first ^{First view of} Roussel. in an assembly near Aulas. The foe, who was on the watch, was shown by a traitor, for the sake of a reward, the path to the secret resort. The troops of Louis Fifteenth stole up, and broke in like a wolf upon the fold, and rushed upon the shepherd. He did not flee; he could not and would not. He preferred to copy the Good Shepherd, and the death of Him who laid down his life for the sheep. He was bound, gagged, dragged to Vigan, mocked and mistreated all along the road. At his trial, the judge asked, "What is your business?" He answered, "To preach the gospel." "To preach it where?" He replied, "Wherever I can find an assembly of Christians." "Where do you live?" "Under the roof of heaven." After the hearing he was led with two comrades to the citadel long known as "The House of the Believers." Before his prison was a watch by five or six of the dragoons who had taken him. Towards night some grenadiers came and led him to the citadel in Montpellier. This citadel also had long earned the name of "The House of the Believers." The news was carried to his mother. She was the nurse of the duke of Uzès, the governor of Saintonge. She hastened to the duke to obtain his intercession for his foster-brother. But the time-serving lord declared that an example must be made; he could do nothing for the prisoner, unless he would abjure. With indignation the mother repelled his suggestion. She hastened with her son-in-law and other friends to Roussel's prison. "My son," she said, "thou hast prayed to God instead of to the saints. It is a crime in France which is shown no mercy. Thou wilt therefore fall a sacrifice. We have indeed many friends who can do much, but they have told me that in any other matter they would do everything, but for one who calls upon God no one will put himself out." The prisoner comforted the good mother, and waited cheerfully the hour for his entrance into the joy of his Lord. The Jesuits came to him, and

¹ Court afterwards removed from France, ending his days in charge of the clerical seminary at Lausanne (1760).

urged him to save his life by confessing the Catholic faith. He remained steadfast, resisting their sly attacks. The chosen hour came. The officials and the executioner entered the prison together. Roussel knelt down, praying for courage for the last journey. Bareheaded, barefoot, a rope around his neck, he took his way, singing psalms as he went. Reaching

^{His martyr} death. the foot of the gallows, he raised his eyes, mounted firmly and boldly the ladder, crying, "Forgive them, for they know not what they do!" Turning to the hangman, he said, "I forgive thee, and all who do me evil, from my heart." A moment, and his spirit fled to eternal glory. This was November 30, 1728.

A touching song of lamentation has handed down the martyr death of Alexander Roussel from mouth to mouth among the Protestant French. His mother is likened to Mary, whose soul a sharp sword enters under her son's cross. The unnamed traitor is promised, by the song, the reward of his "countryman," Judas, whose residence he shall share, having the very same host.—H. Von M.

LIFE VIII. PAUL RABAUT.

A. D. 1718—A. D. 1794. REFORMED,—FRANCE.

To the woman of Samaria, inquiring where man ought to worship, Christ foretold a time when the true worshiper should worship the Father in spirit and in truth. Such worship was offered in the catacombs of Rome; such also in the "church in the wilderness," which all the fanatic tyranny of the French ruler was not able to suppress. What country has sealed the Reformed faith with longer or sorcer martyrdom than that of France! With brief interruptions, the persecution of the gospel continued from 1524, when James Pavannes, the first evangelical martyr, was burned alive on the Place de Grève, because he had written against the worship of Mary and the saints, down to 1775, when the last two persons kept in the galleys as Protestants were let out of their prisons. The revocation (1685) of the Edict of Nantes had two results: the emigration of four hundred thousand diligent and skilled Huguenots, and the aggravation of the misery of their fellow-believers who did not emigrate. The number of the latter reached a million: of these three hundred thousand died from the persecutions which they suffered on account of their faith; from ten to fifteen thousand died by the gallows, by torture, by the stake, or by the axe. When the war of the Camisards came (1701—1706), the fatal hour of Protestantism in France, it seemed, had struck. The evangelical church no longer had synods, discipline, lawful worship and instruction, or clergymen. The last, to the number of about six hundred, had been driven into exile. For that hour of sorest need God raised up

in Antoine Court the reformer of French Protestantism. He convoked synods, reestablished public worship, at peril of his life, went as an itinerant through the settlements of his fellow-believers, and established in Lausanne a theological seminary, which from 1730 until 1812 alone supplied the ministers for the "church in the wilderness." Some four hundred and fifty candidates for the ministry left this school during these eighty years to venture their lives in the wilderness. Among them Paul Rabaut takes a front place.

He was born January 9, 1718, in Bédarieux, near Montpellier, of an old Reformed family. In his home, which was ever and anon a hiding-place for the preachers in the wilderness, he learned to know and love the gospel. When a boy he often acted as a guide to the persecuted. At the age of fifteen or sixteen he was met by a call to give Early call to the his life to the Lord, renouncing every brilliant worldly prospect in order to serve his brethren. He became a "prosistant," as the assistants of the preachers in the wilderness were entitled. He was to accompany them on their dangerous journeys, and be instructed by them for the church's service. When twenty years old Rabaut was sent to Nismes as a preacher. He married, that same year, Magdalena Gaydan, a young lady whose Christian steadfastness and self-sacrifice were equal to his own. Rabaut soon saw that to fulfill his office he needed a more thorough education. He decided that he must go and study for three years in Lausanne, leaving his wife behind (1740.) This he did, and then returned to his church in Nismes (1743), and remained in his pastorate until his death (1794). During his half century and more of labor he was protected by God's watchful care. He in whom, above others, beat the heart-throbs of the proscribed Protestantism of France, was never even once arrested or imprisoned. He ever bore himself as a servant of God, and as one dying, and lo! he still lives.

The French Protestants enjoyed a period of rest at the time of Rabaut's return to Nismes. The magistrates ignored the meetings, which they could not suppress. But they were stirred by Richelieu, who was made lieutenant-general in Languedoc (1738), to begin anew a bloody persecution. The pretext for this was a widely circulated religious song, which besought a blessing upon the arms of England. Rabaut, who had ever spoken out most decidedly against armed resistance, and had declined to attend assemblies where armed men were present, was nevertheless accused of being the author of the hymn. He wrote to Richelieu, defending himself and his brethren from the imputation: "We solemnly make oath and asseveration in the presence of the Supreme Searcher of Hearts, who will arraign perjurors and hypocrites before his judgment seat, that the detestable song ascribed to the Protestants is not their production. Their religion obliges them to nothing more strongly than to obedience and to loyalty to their sovereign. In our sermons and

addresses we magnify this our obligation, as the Catholics who live in Neugierde can testify." He further said: "If we hold religious assemblies, it is not from disrespect to the command of his majesty, or from seditionsness, but purely and wholly for conscience' sake, to offer to our God the sacrifice which we deem most acceptable to Him, to receive instruction in reference to our duties and incitements to fulfill them." Richelieu was not able to understand how men must obey God rather than man, and proceeded with hellish hate against the Reformed. The

If castle, the towers of Constance (near Aigues-Mortes), and other public

Rabaut labors amid dragon-nades. edifices were filled with prisoners, both men and women. The dragonnades were begun anew in several districts.

Rabaut was obliged to hide, and to perform the duties of his office in the utmost secrecy. He preached frequently in forest ravines and desert places near Nismes. The Protestants, full of thirst for the word of God, faced the greatest dangers to attend these meetings. As many as ten thousand hearers would at times gather round Rabaut, and would all be reached by his full and penetrating voice. His sermons, as they are described by the possessor of the manuscripts of his pulpit efforts, are characterized by "great simplicity and unction, gentleness rather than harshness, few dogmatic discussions, more love than profundity, and practical exhortations, which were ever added to doctrinal discussions." Besides his preaching and his work as pastor from house to house, he attended very carefully to the education of the young, giving instruction now in one farm district, now in another, in some out-of-the-way corner. His influence with his brethren in the faith was tested at the time of the imprisonment of pastor Désubas. This young man, beloved as a preacher for his zeal and ability, was betrayed by an apostate, and led under a strong guard to Montpellier. Repeated attempts of Protestants along the way to free their pastor were defeated, having served only to waste precious blood. It seemed as if a new "war of the Cévennes" would follow, till the brave Rabaut arose out of his hiding-place to enjoin the Protestants by all the weight of his influence to put

Rabaut's noble letter. the sword into the sheath. Désubas died as a martyr. Rabaut addressed the following letter to his judge, the terrible

Lenain: "When I chose the office of preacher in this realm, I was not ignorant to what I exposed myself. I viewed myself as a victim doomed to slaughter. No worldly consideration could have led me to make this choice of mine; but I was convinced that in this office I could do the most good. Ignorance is the death of the soul, and the source of endless transgression. What would become of the Protestants if they were wholly deprived of pastors, forbidden as they are the free exercise of their religion, and unable conscientiously to follow Romanism? What would become of them, deprived as they are of books from which they might instruct themselves? Surely, they would fall a prey either to in-

differentism or fanaticism ! Your highness is not unaware that the labors of the pastors have hindered such a result. For my own part, I have not neglected to instruct thoroughly those in my charge. After giving instruction in the foundation truths of religion, I have attached especial importance to inculcating moral duties. I have spoken particularly of obedience and loyalty to the king. It is indeed true that the Protestants in several districts have suffered, either in their own or their children's persons and estates, and thus terror has been produced, so that their pastors' exhortations were deprived of their effect."

It was the hope of the Protestants, after the death of Bénezet, that Louis Fifteenth would have compassion on them, if he could but be thoroughly informed of their condition. When the war minister, marquis Paulmy d'Angenson, was making a military inspection of the southern provinces, he was met on September 19, 1772, on the road near Nismes, by Rabaut in person. The pastor, on whose head a price was set, called to him, and presented him a memorial. The marquis showed him respect, and promised to submit the paper. Rabaut vanished, going on his pilgrim course. New means were used to force him to leave the country. During the night an armed mob took possession of his house, and threatened his wife, who had the care of ^{Rabaut's heroic} wife. two children and of a sick mother, with every torture, unless she induced her husband to quit the country. Magdalena would not allow herself to be frightened. She told her husband to continue in his office. She went forth herself, with her children and her mother, to pass a whole year wandering here and there, and seeking refuge in various hiding-places.

The 1st of January, 1756, a Reformed assembly near Nismes was suddenly attacked. Most of those present saved themselves by flight. Some were taken, and among them Fabre, a man of seventy-eight. His son, who had escaped, begged that his aged father might be released, and himself taken in his stead. The exchange took place, and this example of filial love excited respect. The duke of Mirejoix proffered the voluntary prisoner his liberty if Rabaut would promise to leave the kingdom. Fabre would not accept the proffer, and was placed in the galleys at Toulon. After six years he was set free, and rejoiced to find his old father still alive.

In 1761 new victims were demanded by the cruel government. The youthful preacher, Paul Rochette, was seized when on his way to attend to his official work, one night, and was brought into the city of Caussade. Three young nobles, the Grenier brothers, on the news of the danger which threatened their pastor, hastened to the city, armed with pistols and daggers. They were charged with intending to deliver the prisoner by force. The preacher was sentenced by the Toulouse parliament to be hanged, the brothers to be beheaded, and others who were concerned to

be imprisoned in the galleys. In vain did Rabaut exert himself for the innocent victims with the king's daughter, Adelaide, with duke Fitz-James, with Richelieu, and with Rousseau. The latter replied, in indifferent tone (October 27th), that the religious assemblies could be given up without a surrender of religious belief. He said, "I have preached humanity, gentleness, and toleration as well as I could. It is not my fault if I am not heard. For the future I intend to confine myself to general truths. I write no libels nor satires. I attack no person, but only men at large. I condemn no action, but only vice. I can do no more." The bloody sentence was executed. When the martyrs first were told their fate, they cried, "Then we are to die! Let us call upon God to receive graciously the sacrifice which we bring." Strong in their faith, they suffered death February 26, 1762. Rochette was the last martyr preacher of the "church in the wilderness."

The popular interest in Rochette's heroic death was very great. ^{The noted Calas} Public attention was still further excited by another affair, in affair.

which also Rabaut was concerned, — the Calas trial. John Calas, an esteemed merchant in Toulouse, had a son named Marc Antony. One night the youth destroyed his own life by hanging himself in the door-way of a warehouse of his father. The Calas were Protestants. Soon the word went through the fanatically disposed city that Marc Antony had been murdered by his father and his brothers, because he purposed to change his faith. The murdered man was buried as a martyr of the Catholic faith, with all the pomp of the Romish church. The father was tried, and, three weeks after Rochette's death, was executed, his goods confiscated, his children banished or confined in convents. Three years later, before the untiring effort of Voltaire, the sentence was reviewed, the judicial murder unanimously condemned by the court, the name of Calas restored to honor, and his property returned to his children. The condemning judges had accepted as proven that Protestant parents were obliged by their belief to put their children to death in case they purposed to join the Romish church. The Geneva pastors and professors protested loudly and powerfully against this infamous slander. Rabaut wrote a letter under the title, "The Shameful Calumny." He said, "We confess that it touches us in the most tender place when such crimes are charged upon us. Confiscate our property, send our people to the galleys and our pastors to the gallows, but at least respect a system of morals which springs from Jesus Christ alone. The foremost principle of the Protestants is to accept the Scriptures as the only rule of faith and practice, — this book which we are sure does not inculcate child murder. What religion is it that insists strongly that faith is a free gift of God, that conscience must be unconstrained, that men must not believe upon the faith of others, and that a blind faith is a dead faith? It is this religion of ours! Protestants have contended

most zealously for liberty of thought and belief. We take it to heart, then, when we are charged with a spirit of persecution. The universal belief among us is that we should bear with the erring, we should honor the Godhead, and never take vengeance, but leave it to God, to whom only vengeance belongs." The writing of Rabaut excited new hatred. It was publicly torn and burned by the executioner. Its author was forced to take fresh precautions and to flee from one hiding-place to another.

With persevering zeal Rabaut continued in his work. He was assisted by his eldest son, Rabaut-Etienne, who had left the Lausanne seminary in 1765, and had at once been made preacher in Nismes. His second son, Rabaut-Pommier, was also a pastor, first in Montpellier, and then in Paris, while the youngest, Rabaut-Dupuis, settled in his native city as a merchant. A spirit of toleration was prevailing more and more in France, and the lot of the Protestants was visibly improved. Many a hammer was wasted upon the anvil of the gospel. In the year 1780, the Reformed first won the right to have their own cemeteries. They had long buried the dead secretly and in the night-time, either in fields, in gardens, or in cellars. When sixty-seven years old, Rabaut asked from the consistory of Nismes his dismissal. It was granted in the most considerate and grateful manner. He built a refuge for his old age on Grétry Street, which is still known as Paul Street. The house is to-day a Protestant orphan asylum for the department of Gard.

In the year 1786, Rabaut was visited by the marquis Lafayette, who desired him to go to Paris to represent the interests of his Rabaut and his son honored. brethren. Rabaut went, and toiled for a year in the capital to obtain the edict of 1787, which at least was a prophecy of religious liberty, and achieved something towards it. The day for it came more quickly than was expected by even the most sanguine. The Revolution in France raised the despised preacher of the wilderness, Rabaut-Etienne, to the presidency of the national assembly. The son wrote to his aged father (March 15, 1790), "The president of the national assembly is at your feet." A few months later the grand veteran of the war of the cross was allowed the joy of dedicating the first temple erected by the Protestants since the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He closed the sublime service with the prayer of Simeon. But he had not yet come to the hour of his departure. His son, the pride of his old age, died December 5, 1793, upon the scaffold, because he dared resist Robespierre, and his son's wife killed herself in grief over his death. The aged Rabaut himself was cast into prison, amid the mockery of a frenzied people. The ninth Thermidor (July 27, 1794), he was set free. Weary of life, he returned to his home, to set his house in order. His wife had died some time before. Upon the 25th of September of this year, he met a peaceful death. After seventy-seven years of wandering, he went quietly home.

Of all the virtues which men admire, Rabaut had one only, but that was the very greatest, namely, fidelity. With but moderate gifts of mind he united invincible strength of will, and an entire consecration of self to God and to the work which was given him to do. He took up his Master's cross daily, neither seeking it nor passing it by. He bore it patiently and self-sacrificingly, till his Lord took it away, turning the cross to a crown, leading the preacher of the wilderness to living fountains of water, and him who sowed in tears to the place where all tears are wiped away from the eyes. — T. P.

LIFE IX. JOHN FREDERICK OBERLIN.

A. D. 1740—A. D. 1826. LUTHERAN, — FRANCE.

WHAT person of intelligence, unless some one who shuts out from his mind all knowledge of the kingdom of God on earth, has failed to hear at some time or other the name of Oberlin? A mystic, a fantastic, or a pietist, he may be called, — for evil report has thus sought to characterize him, — but whoever will take pains to go and study the man thus named, on his own field of labor, will soon be ready before the presence of Oberlin to bow in reverence. For our day has seen nothing in all our home-missionary enterprise, however substantial and worthy of praise, that exceeds the work done by this single individual from 1767 down to 1826. All the philanthropic effort and Christian benevolence which we greet and extol as the harbingers of a better age are to be found, in types or patterns at least, in the sphere of the labors of Oberlin.

The scene of his work was the Steinthal, a mountain hollow inclosed by high rock walls, situated in Alsace, not far from Strassburg, among the northwest declivities of the Vosges Mountains. Its name came from the old feudal castle of Stein, whose moss-grown towers look down still from their mountain summit, reminding us of the day when nothing save dagger and cross, the knight and the priest, had power in the land, or could lay claim to the rights which are the heritage of mankind. The Steinthal was indebted to tempests of war and to religious persecutions for its first very limited population. People of many lands, Italians, Swiss, Germans, and French, found here a refuge. A rude patois, a mixture of various dialects, with French, however, as its foundation, served as the chief language of the region. After the Reformation had found its way to Strassburg (1529), it soon penetrated to the Steinthal, carrying thither the Confession of Augsburg (1530). The valley comprised two parishes, Rothau and Waldbach. The profound stillness of the forests of the former was, before long, broken by the clang of iron manufactures and other industries. By the entrance of immi-

grants the Romish church again won a foot-hold. The latter, which, with its five hamlets (two of them the offshoots of the original Waldbach), was to be the field of Oberlin, had never changed from its original condition, that of a veritable wilderness, till Oberlin transformed it to a garden of the Lord.

The way for this transformation had been prepared by Oberlin's predecessor, Stuber, from Strassburg, an every way excellent cleric, who had taken Waldbach when it was reduced to an utterly ruinous condition by a succession of faithless hirelings. He had found the people, whose broken jargon he had the greatest difficulty in understanding, unable either to read or to write, and void of all civilization. A swineherd, who, from old age, was unable to work, and who had no more knowledge than the half-naked youth intrusted to him, had been put in the office of parish school-teacher. The Bible was utterly unknown. Not one of their preachers, even, had ever been owner of the book. Waldbach parish had been made, as far as the church was concerned, a kind of penitentiary, or Botany Bay. Preachers were sent thither whom their friends did not quite wish to let starve, and whom they yet hesitated to put anywhere else, on account of their bad conduct. Was it a wonder, among such a neglected people, ignorant of morals and religion, that barbarity, immorality, and superstition of every sort went hand in hand? Stuber had shrunk back when he viewed the wasted vineyard intrusted to his care. But he did not despond. With God's help he went to work, and to him belongs the credit of at least not leaving the forests to utter rudeness. He felt, however, when he had toiled four years, that he must accept a call to an especially pleasant position in the city of Barr, near Strassburg. He thus let one come after him who seems to have aimed to destroy by word and deed the good seed sown by the man before him. Happily he was soon deprived of his office. Stuber, whose conscience had given him sleepless nights, was not long in doubt as to what he ought to do. He requested (1760) to be sent back to Waldbach. His honorable desire was granted him. His sacrifice to the cause of God was rewarded by Heaven with many happy results. After applying himself actively for seven years to the material and moral good of his community, greatly improving the school, beginning a small public library, and attending in person to placing a Bible in every family, Stuber felt obliged, by weak health, again to leave Waldbach, accepting a call to the Thomas church of Strassburg. This he did more gladly, because he knew who would see to promoting and completing, with all the energy of youth, the work which he himself had inaugurated.

The young man before Stuber's mind was John Frederick Oberlin, born at Strassburg in 1740 (near the time of the birth of Lavater and of Jung-Stilling). Oberlin was one of seven sons. His parents were members of the Lutheran church, and universally respected.

His father, a worthy teacher in the gymnasium, and his mother, a finely educated and devoted Christian lady, were able to train their sons with strictness, yet allowed abundant room to each of them to develop his peculiar characteristics. So in the boy Frederick the outlines of his coming character soon appeared. Resoluteness, courage, and force were joined with a profound tenderness, and a living, self-sacrificing sympathy with the woes and misfortunes of others, whatever they might be. It happened at one time, when a crowd of blackguard boys had knocked the bucket from off the head of a peasant woman in wanton malice, that Oberlin dealt them such a rebuke there in the street that they at first stood overcome, and afterwards silently dispersed. The youth then gave the poor woman his pocket money, amounting indeed to only a few cents, to help repair her damage. One evening, as Oberlin's mother portrayed the sad condition of an afflicted family, the little Frederick suddenly sprang up, and with the bright tears filling his eyes cried out, "Mamma, I will take the poor people my Christmas money!" his brothers and his sisters imitating him in his offer.

When Oberlin had finished with the greatest credit his studies in gymnasium and university, and had taken a degree in the latter as master of philosophy, he became a tutor in the family of a physician, acquiring here much medical knowledge, which became very valuable to him afterwards. His purpose was to become a field chaplain in the French army, but this was crossed by his call to go to Waldbach. Oberlin had a profound sense of the important work here offered him. He knew, however, who was at his side, and trusted his promise: "My strength is made perfect in weakness." Already when nineteen years old, he had been impelled to make a surrender of himself to the Lord his God, to

Oberlin's covenant serve Him eternally, placing his hand and his seal to a solemn

emn covenant. He was led to this largely by the blessed influence of pastor Lorenz, of Strassburg, a preacher full of unction and hearty zeal. In this writing, he says, among other things, "Holy God, to Thee I resign myself this day most solemnly. Hear, ye heavens, and give ear, thou earth! To-day I profess that the Lord is my God. Accept, O Lord, my word, and write it down in thy book, that henceforth I may be thine. In the name of the Lord of hosts, I resign all other masters who have heretofore ruled over me; the world's joys, to which I gave myself; the desires of the flesh, which dwelt within me. I resign every transient thing, that God may be my all in all. To Thee I devote all that I am and have, the powers of my soul, the members of my body, my time, and my possessions. Help Thou me, O Father, that I may employ everything to thy glory, using all in obedience to thy command. Grant me grace, O my God, to continue in this covenant with all steadfastness, and to keep the vows which are already upon me through baptism. The Lord's name be to me an eternal witness that I have offered

this vow to Him, and subscribed it with steadfast, sincere heart, to be kept to the end." Under this covenant there was written by Oberlin, after his entrance upon his office in Waldbach, "Renewed" ("Renovatum").

A very painful surprise must have met Oberlin when he found Steinthal, notwithstanding the faithful work of the venerable Stuber, in a profoundly wretched condition. Any signs of the labors of that good pastor were hardly to be met. The earlier ignorance and rudeness were but slightly affected. The region was inhospitable and barren, and was shut out from the world by pathless rocky cliffs. Trusting God, and taking courage from the approval and assistance of some few members of his parish, who had been influenced by Stuber, Oberlin began a work of reformation, reaching out in every direction. His sermons, of which Christ was the light and life [stern und kern], were hearty discourses from a kind father to his children, and besides were models of popular and effective oratory. Visiting untiringly from house to house, he proved himself to possess an inexhaustible store of wise, practical counsels respecting the needs of both body and soul. Gradually he led his congregation into all his plans of improvement. He met serious opposition from a large number, who charged him with love of innovation, but through gentleness and prudence was able to overcome it. At one time, he heard that some young men had resolved to waylay him, upon the following Sunday, as he was returning from one of the subordinate parishes, which he most faithfully served, and to inflict upon him bodily punishment. Sunday came; Oberlin took occasion in his sermon to exalt the divine protection in which he who was truly devoted to God might ever confide. After service, he set out for home, not on horseback, as usual, but on foot, while his horse was led by a peasant at some distance behind him. Soon he descried the ill-disposed mob concealed in the way behind some bushes. With steady, even gait he went on by them. The conspirators were left in surprise, no one of them venturing to lay a hand on him. When a like plot was formed, at another time, against him, he first preached in the church on the text, "Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also;" and afterwards, when the plotters were in conference upon the manner in which they could revenge themselves upon the man who forbade them so many things in which they delighted, Oberlin came upon them suddenly. The mere appearance of the man, so majestic and noble, with his inquiry, "Tell me now in what I have done you injury," was enough to disarm the poor creatures, and even to impress them with reverence before him. Soon there was not a man in the parish but was obliged to revere him.

Oberlin completed a year of toil and anxiety. His mother's wish that a faithful helper might be given him was then fulfilled. The woman

Oberlin begins
his life-work.

appointed of God for him was Magdalene Salome Witter, the lovable Oberlin's marriage. and cultivated daughter of one of the Strassburg University professors, a friend of the Oberlins. By advice of her physician, she sought in the air of the Vosges Mountains the recovery of her delicate health, and went to Waldbach in the company of Oberlin's sister. The circumstances of the betrothal of herself and Oberlin were peculiar. The latter had not the least thought that the cultivated and, as he thought, worldly city belle was intended to be his fellow-laborer in life. He met her in a friendly way, but regarded her for a time without concern. By and by he heard a voice from his soul calling, "Take Magdalene." "Impossible," he replied; "we would not suit one another." But ever and anon it spoke: "Take her; she is the one." He adhered to his negative reply. The moment came when Magdalene was about to take her departure. Oberlin was seized with alarm. Accustomed as he was to follow God's voice, he perceived who had been speaking to him. He went to her as she was leaving, held out his hand, and said, "You will leave us, my dear friend. But a voice says to me that you are to be my companion in life. What do you say?" Magdalene covered her glowing face with one hand, extending the other to him. The betrothal was made, and that in the name of God. Their marriage took place July 6, 1768, to the great blessing of the parish. It was soon plain that the Holy Spirit, unseen, had given the soul of Magdalene a deep and thorough Christian experience.

With renewed zeal, Oberlin, with his wife as his true helpmeet, pushed on in all directions that work of his which to-day remains to astonish us. First, he devoted himself to perfecting the schools of the region. He found helpers especially in a noble and wealthy Swiss family, the Legrands, who, sharing his views, out of regard for him and his works removed their silk manufactory to the Steinthal. Oberlin builded in Waldbach a new school edifice, and enlarged the school-houses of the smaller villages. He employed qualified and faithful teachers. He started them upon right methods of teaching. Especially, he introduced the pure French to replace the rude dialect of the country. He promoted the material interests of the forsaken country with equal zeal, prudence, and success. Everything was neglected,—agriculture, cattle-raising, and trades. The people were slumbering in their pitiful hermit existence, as if utterly cut off from the world outside. Oberlin shook Oberlin leads in them till they awaked. Procuring the indispensable implements, he asked the people to take them in their hands, and to follow after him. They followed, willingly or unwillingly, he going ahead with shovel and mattock upon his shoulder. Work was begun. The rough places were leveled, rocks removed or buried; broad wastes, covered with broom and other wild growths, were made tillable and thoroughly manured. The mountain streams were conducted through

the valleys, so as to make rich meadows and pastures. Bridges were builded over the large streams. The one over the roaring Breusch retains till to-day the name of "Le Pont de Piété," or "The Love Bridge." In the care of his own garden, which in a short time rejoiced in an abundance of nourishing vegetables and productive fruit trees, Oberlin set the farmers an encouraging example of what they might do on their own grounds, by using diligence and careful perseverance. He took under his care, also, the condition of the roads which connected his parish with other places, especially with Strassburg. He sent a number of his young men to capable master artisans in Strassburg, to be taught. Before long, they came back skilled masons, smiths, tailors, shoemakers, or artisans of other crafts. This did not have to go on long till the entire parish of Waldbach, not only in its houses and shops, its gardens and farms, but in its language, morals, and deportment, wore an aspect wonderfully changed. Putting off the beggarliness that seemed to call for alms, it began a profitable business with the products of its fields and of its herds. Those who remembered the former wilderness to be found in this corner of the Vosges Mountains were amazed at the new creation, and could hardly believe that it was the work of a single individual. But Oberlin did the will of God. Thus he brought it about in a few years that his parish could boast a circulating library, suited for mental and spiritual culture, a small museum of natural history and philosophy, and an excellently managed savings and loan institution. Besides, it possessed an agricultural association, whose services were respectfully acknowledged by the central association at Paris. Oberlin, as the founder and patron of the society, was decorated with a gold medal by the Royal Agricultural Society, and at a later period with the order of the Legion of Honor by the king himself.

But the business and social interests of the Steinalth weighed upon Oberlin far less than the welfare of the souls of his parishioners. In his sermons and in his Bible readings—the rule for the latter being that the women should be knitting for themselves or for the poor while he was speaking—he won his way very near to the hearts of his hearers. In his home conversations with his people, respecting their every-day interests, he gently and skillfully turned their minds, almost unconsciously, to heavenly and eternal objects. He never inundated them with his religion, but let it drop as the gentle dew upon their souls. Gladly he saw that they, for the most part, received the gospel in the same spirit in which he offered it. Little by little, the community took a self-forgetful interest in all Christian enterprises and charities. There was begun, at the instigation of the wife of Oberlin, a kindergárten, conducted by excellent managers, with the deeply Christian and cultivated Louise Scheppeler, a farmer's daughter, at their head. Bible and tract circulation and foreign missions received a hearty sup-

Oberlin leads in things spiritual.

port. Oberlin was the first continental correspondent of the British Bible Society. That the poor and suffering in Waldbach were well cared for will be taken as a matter of course.

Oberlin's weekly catechisings and public school examinations delighted the grown people, who attended in crowds, glad to mark the progress which was made by their children. Of course there were some who were negligent, idle, or refractory. Oberlin was unwearying, when he missed such from church or from other assemblies, in seeking them in their homes or upon their farms, and bringing them into the fold. Travel in his widely extended parish was attended with much danger, especially in the winter. Roaring snow-storms from the ravines of the mountains would sweep over the roads. The lonely traveler could easily lose his way and be caught fast in the drifts. He would find his path climbing by the edge of frightful abysses, over rocky ascents, all coated with ice; or he would be obliged to cross the suddenly swollen mountain streams upon frail bridges, which perhaps were covered already by the rushing flood, and where an accident would cost him his life. But the watch-word of Oberlin was, "Forward." And God helped him in going forward for six and eighty years, and through worse things than the snowy avalanche or the mountain torrents.

By the French Revolution, the peace of all Europe and the quiet progress of the community of Steinthal were both sadly interrupted.

Oberlin, like many of the nobler spirits of Europe, whether in France or out of it, was at first filled with enthusiasm, remembering the evil rule of Charles Ninth and the last two Louises. But he abhorred the excess and bloodshed which followed, in the name of "the rights of man," as they were called by the mob, which inscribed this motto upon their banner. He kept aloof as much as possible from the political excitement. When he gave a hiding-place among his secluded mountains to some fugitive from France, he did it from love to man, not asking to what party the refugee belonged. When the "fête of the constitution" was held, and an "altar of France" was erected upon a high mountain, Oberlin made the inaugural address, at the earnest desire of his people, but gave it a religious character, holding fast by his Christian principles. With like propriety did he address the Steinthal volunteers, who were disposed to enter the French army. His position was made the more difficult when, after the setting up of a republican government in France, Robespierre and Marat took the rule, and ordered all churches closed and all Christian worship to cease, under the heaviest penalties. Oberlin purposed to be true to himself and to his God. He obeyed the government's command, however, in laying aside the cloak and tipped which were the insignia of his pastoral office. He would show his parish to be a law-abiding people. He caused them to hold an election of officers. The result was that on his motion the excellent school-teacher of Waldbach

was made president, and Oberlin himself chosen "orator." The church was taken for an assembly hall, as the school-room was too narrow. Oberlin thus filled his place as preacher, not in the pulpit, but upon a "tribune," hastily erected. To his great grief he had to give up, for the time being, his catechisings. Still he did not escape denunciation by the Jacobin spies. One day, to the great amazement of his people, he was arrested and dragged before the tribunal of the national ^{His escape from death.} commissioner of his district, to be examined. But at the moment when his trial was about to begin, the news came of the overthrow of Robespierre, and Oberlin was set free without further ceremony. Public worship was again allowed by law (1795). The clergy were, however, admonished to proclaim to their people "the oath of hate to royalty and to anarchy, the oath of obedience and fidelity to the republic and to the constitution of the year 3 of the new era." Oberlin of course executed this command in consistence with his principles. He was subject to the state for the Lord's sake, but so far only as his conscience as a Christian warranted him in showing obedience.

Some time before the Revolution (January, 1783), Oberlin had received a blow, than which no heavier one could have befallen him. By a sudden stroke he lost what was called by ^{Oberlin's trials and peculiarities.} him his dearest earthly treasure. His faithful companion and untiring helper in every enterprise was taken away. He could not be comforted. He was unspeakably desolate. She was the repository of his most secret thoughts and plans. To her he spoke with confidence of everything that occupied or affected him. Her ever wise counsel he was accustomed faithfully to follow. Whither could he turn, or where stand, now that she was gone? And what have we here in his diary, which has been preserved to us? Nothing less than that he lived through nine years in communion with the glorified one,—now in dream, now in vision when he was awake,—and that he continued to discuss with her every measure which he purposed! What he records of this is as if it were a real occurrence. It were well before we dismiss this with the exclamation, "Phantasy!" "Delusion!" "Hallucination!" to withhold our judgment over such a mysterious fact, until it please God to show to us more concerning the relations of the worlds visible and invisible than He has yet vouchsafed to tell. We should also have charity for this child-like, believing spirit, and not count it presumption or trespass when we find him drawing a map of the world beyond; placing it upon the church wall back of the pulpit; carrying in his pocket two little tablets, one marked "oui," the other "non," and allowing them to render him in doubtful cases an answer as from God,—not, however, until he had uttered a silent prayer! These peculiarities cannot deface, in our eyes, Oberlin's noble image. They rather show the child-like simplicity and believing sincerity of the humble servant of the Lord.

The death of Oberlin took place June 1, 1826, at the advanced age of Oberlin's last eighty-six. Of him, as of Moses, it was true that "his eye days. was not dim, nor his natural force abated." He went home in full repose upon God, abounding as few men have in good works. Christ had been life to him; death must have been gain. He left behind him, out of nine children, only one son and three daughters, besides an adopted child, his faithful servant, Louise Scheppeler, whom he had led to Christ, and who after his wife's death presided in a model manner over his household. A son and a daughter had been taken away in tender childhood. His eldest son, Frederick Jeremiah, died (1793) as an inferior officer of the French army. His especially promising son, Henry, whom Lavater called his Nathanael, who for a time exchanged the study of theology and medicine for the work of war, died (1817) from the effect of service under Napoleon. His son Charles Conservé, who, like Henry, studied medicine and theology, served as a physician for a time in the French army of the Rhine, then was pastor of Rothau parish, and at the time of his father's death was practicing as a skillful and philanthropic physician in Foudai, a village of his father's parish.

Oberlin was buried solemnly in the Waldbach cemetery, the entire population of the valley thronging around with sympathizing hearts, joined by many from distant places. Over his grave were shed tears of thankfulness in abundance. A plain monument marks his resting-place. It names him "Father of the Steinthal," and adds, in French, Daniel xii. 3: "They that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars for ever and ever." Many a token of respect was given Oberlin in his lifetime. We have noted already his recognition by the chief of his land, and by Louis Eighteenth himself. And when a nobleman of Alsace, in the service of Russia, petitioned the czar Alexander, at Frankfort-on-the-Main, for leave to pay a visit to Oberlin, whose pupil he had been, the czar replied, "Monsieur Oberlin is well known to me. I esteem him, and commission you to say to him that I love and highly honor him." When the nobleman, upon his return, was about to kiss the czar's hand in the name of Oberlin, the czar would not allow it, saying, "You know that I will have my hand kissed by no one, and least of all by a deserving pastor." He then kissed his officer thrice, saying, "This is for Papa Oberlin." The Steinthal reformer received visits from many foreign lands, and letters testifying respect and love. Of their number, besides Lavater and Stilling, we name the poet Pfeffel and the celebrated Madame Krüdener. The memory of Oberlin is preserved in song and in biography. The honor which, above all that has been paid him, might be an object of envy is this: that to-day no member of his old parish draws near his grave-stone without profound reverence; and that every year many friends of the cause of God, from near and from far, approach his grave, blessing the man of faith, of prayer, and of toil with an "Ave! pia anima." — F. W. K.

LIFE X. JAMES GUTHRIE.

A. D. 1610 ?—A. D. 1661. PRESBYTERIAN,—SCOTLAND.

JAMES GUTHRIE was the first clergyman of the Scottish church who fell a martyr in her persecutions under Charles Second. Marked at one time by greater cruelty, at another by less, these persecutions continued throughout twenty-eight years, until the revolution of 1688 brought the dominion of the Stuart family forever to a close. The enmity of king Charles to the peculiar spirit of the Presbyterian church, and above all to the foundation principle of her constitution, that *Jesus Christ is the alone head of his church, and shares his kingly power with no earthly potentate*, was in a certain measure an inheritance from his ancestors. Both his grandfather, James First, and his father, Charles First, were stubbornly determined that the king's rule in church affairs, which had been acknowledged by the English church since her reformation, should prevail in Scotland. The former, recognizing in the English hierarchy the surest support of his rule in the church, had forced an episcopal constitution on the church of Scotland. This was hateful to her for a twofold reason. The Scotch considered that they must maintain their Presbyterian constitution as the alone scriptural. They believed that the imposition of the episcopalian by a royal command was a mischievous invasion of rights exclusively reserved to their invisible Head. When Charles First went to work to force upon the Scottish church the Romanized forms which were introduced by him into the worship of the English church, the Presbyterian spirit, after a long repose, rose in its might to rend the fetters placed upon it. Clergy, nobles, citizens, and work people united in the “Covenant” (1638), swearing fidelity to the Lord ^{The Scottish} their God, and to one another. They restored the church ^{“Covenant.”} as she was after the Reformation. They renounced all innovations and the episcopacy which had been forced upon them wrongfully by the royal power.

The declaration of war against Scotland by Charles on account of this “Second Reformation” of the Scottish church, as it was called, was an immediate cause of the kindling of the glimmering discontent of England with her king into a bright flame, of the shaking of Great Britain by revolution to her very foundations, of the overthrowing of the throne, and of the ending of Charles's life upon the scaffold (1649).

The hearts of the Scotch, who held loyally to the royal house of their own race, were filled with discontent and pain by the news of that blameworthy execution. They proclaimed at once the unfortunate monarch's eldest son Charles Second, and invited him from his exile in Holland to repair to Scotland to begin his reign. But they laid down the condition

that he should solemnly swear never to make any change in the Presbyterian constitution, as restored in Scotland, but to observe the same, and to bring his house to observe it. This vow the young king not only took, by subscribing the covenant before his entrance into Scotland, but renewed after that by a solemn oath at his coronation. Charles's stay in Scotland at that time was not of long duration. He was beaten by Cromwell (1651), and compelled to flee to the Continent, where he remained until the reaction in England which brought him back to the throne of his fathers.

All too quickly after his restoration, he showed, by the measures which he took for the entire obliteration of the Presbyterian church, how little weight he attached to his solemn oath. Already, during his stay in Scotland, he had by his whole behavior excited the deepest solicitude of clear-sighted Presbyterians, to whom, with all their loyalty to their earthly sovereign, their fidelity to their heavenly king was far more precious.

In this class was James Guthrie, pastor of Berling. He had ever, as ^{Guthrie's Chris-} a faithful shepherd of his people, earnestly kept in mind the tian attitude. counsels of God for their salvation. As a zealous watchman of Zion, he had ever contended for the rights and liberties of the church, and thereby had already brought upon him the enmity of the king and of his viceroy, Middleton, who was sent to carry out his measures against the church of Scotland. This enmity soon found occasion to make itself felt. Guthrie and nine other clergymen had met in Edinburgh, in a friend's house, to prepare in common a humble address to the king, in which they congratulated him upon his return, declared their loyal sentiments, and fervently prayed God to make his rule happy and blest, but at the same time reminded him of his sworn pledges to the Scottish church. It was their intention to communicate this address to their like-minded brethren throughout the country, and to secure for it as many signatures as possible. Middleton, the moment he heard of this secret assembly, had its members dragged by a company of soldiers to prison, which Guthrie was never to leave, save to go to death by the hand of the executioner.

After long imprisonment, his trial on a charge of high treason was begun. The indictment was based upon two facts. Guthrie, though a true subject of the king, and often contending publicly, even under Cromwell, for the right of Charles as opposed to the English commander, had, in a writing published by him (1650), blamed the readiness with which Charles had been admitted to sign the covenant and to rule before he had given proof of his favorable sentiments towards the church. The other fact was as follows: At the king's suggestion, an earlier resolve of the Scotch parliament, excluding from the service of the king and the state all enemies of the covenant and of the Presbyterian church, was repealed (1651). Guthrie had denounced this, in a sermon delivered at

that time, as treason to the cause of the Lord. When he was summoned to appear before the king and the parliament to answer for this, he returned the summons with a protest against the right of the civil power to pass judgment on matters which touched the fulfilling of his duties as a pastor. The protest rested on a principle maintained at all times by the Scottish church against the civil power, though not always successfully. At that moment the condition of public affairs in Scotland prevented the king calling Guthrie to account. Now the matter should be settled.

When the trial of Guthrie before the Scotch parliament was entered upon (February 20, 1661), he defended himself with an eloquence, knowledge of law, and power of argument that ^{Guthrie's trial.} amazed his friends and confounded his enemies. "My lords," said he to his judges, "my conscience I cannot submit, but this old crazy body and mortal flesh I do submit to do with it whatsoever you will, whether by death, or banishment, or imprisonment, or anything else; only I beseech you to ponder well what profit there is in my blood. It is not the extinguishing me, or many others, that will extinguish the covenant and the work of reformation since the year 1638. My blood, my bondage, or my banishment will contribute more for the propagation of those things than my life or my liberty could do, though I should live many years. Therefore, I entreat you, since I have been deprived of my pastorate, my dwelling, and my support, and reduced with my family to the necessity of living on the compassion of others, and since I have been eight months in prison, that you would not impose on me further suffering. With the words of Jeremiah I close: 'As for me, behold, I am in your hand: do with me as seemeth good and meet unto you. But know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves, and upon this city, and upon the inhabitants thereof.'

Guthrie's speech made such an impression upon the assembly that some of the members withdrew, to avoid any share in the blood of this righteous person. Nevertheless, the sentence of the parliament was pronounced that he be hanged as a traitor on the Edinburgh market-place, and his head cut off and set up over the gate; "also, that his estate should be confiscated, his coat of arms torn and reversed, and his children declared incapable in all time coming to enjoy any office, dignity, goods movable or unmovable, or aught else, within this kingdom." He received the sentence with the greatest composure, saying, "My lords, may this sentence never trouble you more than it troubles me, and may my blood never be required of the king's house!"

The time from his sentence to his execution (June 1, 1661) Guthrie passed in undisturbed serenity, which grew even to gladness when the day of his execution came around. On his way to the scaffold, his arms

His brave, holy tied behind his back, he asked that one of them might be loosed enough to allow him, as he was not used to walking by reason of his death. long imprisonment, to support himself upon a staff. When he reached the fatal ladder, he spoke, as bishop Burnet, an eye-witness of his execution, testifies, "a whole hour, with the composedness of one who was delivering a sermon rather than his last words." While he urgently besought the people to be true to the covenant, whatever trial came upon them, his address was also an earnest call to repentance for the sins of which Scotland was guilty, through apostasy or lukewarmness in respect to her covenant with the Lord, thereby bringing the wrath of God upon her. "These sacred, solemn, public oaths to God," said he, "which, since we entered into them, have been attested by the conversion of so many thousands of souls, can never be released or removed by any man, or party, or power on the earth. As they are now, so for all future time will they remain, obligatory upon this realm! I take God to record upon my soul," said he, "that I would not exchange this scaffold with the palace or mitre of the greatest prelate in Britain. Blessed be God, who upon such a poor creature as I am has bestowed his grace, has revealed his Son in me, has called me as a preacher of his gospel, and deigned by his Holy Spirit to seal my labors, in spite of the opposition of Satan and of the world, in not a few hearts of this people." In closing, he cried, "Jesus Christ is my light and my life. He is my wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. To Him are all my desires. Him, yes Him, I commend to you with all the powers of my soul. Praise Him, O my soul, to all eternity!" He then ended with Simeon's words: "Lord, now lettest Thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." At the instant he was precipitated from the ladder, lifting the napkin from his face, he cried, "The covenants, the covenants shall yet be Scotland's reviving!"

Thus died the venerable James Guthrie, who may rightly be called the first martyr for Christ's crown and covenant, for the crime charged upon him was substantially his refusal to subject Christ's royal rule of his church by Himself alone to the arrogated supremacy of any earthly

Honors to his power. The high honor in which a martyr of this principleless body. such as Guthrie, was held by Scotland is shown by what followed. His headless body¹ was laid in a coffin by his friends, and carried to the chancel of the old church, where it was prepared by a company of women of high station for an honorable burial. Some of the ladies, dipping their handkerchiefs in the blood of the martyr, were blamed by Sir Archibald Primrose, who stood by, for their approach to

¹ "His head was affixed to the Netherbow, and there it remained, blackening in the sun, through all the dark years of persecution that followed. The martyrs on their way to the Grave Market passed the spot where it was exposed. At last it was taken down by a young man named Hamilton, a student, who afterwards became successor to the man to whose remains he performed this kind office."

popish superstition ; one of them answered, " We purpose not to turn it to superstition or idolatry, but to raise these blood-stained cloths to heaven, and pray God to remember the innocent blood thus shed." While the women were thus engaged, a noble youth entered, and poured on the body a vial of precious perfume whose fragrance filled the church. Perceiving it, one of the women cried, " God bless you, sir, for this act of love which you have shown the slain body of a faithful servant of Jesus Christ." The youth bowed low, and without speaking withdrew.

— K. G. R.

LIFE XI. HUGH MACKAIL.

A. D. 1640 ?—A. D. 1666. PRESBYTERIAN,—SCOTLAND.

THE persecutions by Charles Second of the faithful Presbyterians of Scotland grew in violence (1661–1666), marked especially by military outrages and exactions in the regions where the hearts of the people preserved a hearty love for Presbyterianism, and opposed as a matter of conscience an episcopacy which was imposed on them by royal tyranny. For years the faithful Scotch bore the barbarities of a rude soldiery without resistance. They had seen with deepest pain their loved pastors driven from their churches, and forced to prison or into exile, while their places were filled with unworthy hirelings. They yet cherished the hope that their oppressed cries would not ascend in vain to heaven, but that sooner or later the hour of their deliverance would dawn. At last, a deed of revolting cruelty by the royal troops in the west of Scotland put a limit to the calm endurance of intolerable injury. A portion of the people, some of the men of property joining them, rose against the cruel torturers. The rising was of small extent and short continuance, for even the decided Presbyterians were, most of them, opposed on principle to armed resistance. The handful of insurgents, after solemnly renewing the covenant and marching towards Edinburgh, where they hoped for support, were overwhelmed by the troops of the king after a valiant resistance. Those who had taken part in the rising, or were suspected of participation, were pursued with the most unrelenting severity. So also were those who had given them shelter or food, or in any way had had connection with them. A great number of such were punished by death.

Among these was Hugh MacKail, a youthful preacher of learning, eloquence, and profound piety. He had been with the insurgents but a few days. He was not equal, on account of his physical weakness, to enduring military labor. He was not with them in their battle. He had, however, at an earlier period found occasion, in preaching upon the sufferings which Christ's church has borne in all ages, to say that " the people of God have sometimes been persecuted by

Mackail's offense.

a Pharaoh upon the throne, sometimes by a Haman in the cabinet, and sometimes by a Judas in the church." Though he had made no closer application of his examples, his utterance was carried to the ears of the merciless persecutor of Presbyterianism, archbishop Sharp, who at once thought he was meant by the "Judas in the church." MacKail would at that time have been put in prison had he not fled and kept concealed for a time in various places of hiding.

Now brought before the council he was interrogated respecting the instigators and leaders of the rising, and what alliances they had at home or abroad. He affirmed utter ignorance of the existence of such alliances, explaining how far his own share in the enterprise extended.

His fearful torture. There was then laid before him the instrument of torture known as the "Spanish boot," frequently used upon the persecuted Presbyterians, and he was told if he did not confess it should be used upon him. He solemnly protested again that he had nothing more to confess. The executioner put the foot of MacKail into the boot, and proceeded to the fearful torture. A heavy blow drove the wedge down and crushed the leg. MacKail was anew called to confess, but to no purpose. Blow after blow followed, at intervals, prolonging the terrible pain. With Christian fortitude the heroic martyr possessed his soul in patience. Seven or eight blows had crushed the flesh and sinews to the very joints, when he, without a trace of impatience or bitterness, solemnly declared before God that he could say no more should all the members of his body be tortured as that poor limb. Then the wedge was given three blows more, till the joints also were crushed, and a swoon deprived him of consciousness. He was borne off to the prison. Intercession was made for him with the viceroy and with Sharp by the marquis of Douglass and the duchess of Hamilton, but in vain. He was sentenced, for sharing in the insurrection and for renewing the covenant, to be hanged as a traitor in the Edinburgh market-place. The sentence was announced to him by the council. Taken back to prison, he fell on his knees and prayed fervently for himself and for his five comrades who were sentenced with him. To a friend who came to him he said, "Oh,

He joys in his prison. what joy to be able in a few days to see the face of Jesus Christ!"

When his friend lamented that one so young, living in a day when he could be so useful to the church of God, must die, he replied, "One drop of my blood, by God's grace, can win more hearts than would probably the preaching of many years." During his stay in prison he amazed his hearers by his prayers and praises, quickened as he was even to holy gladness and to a divine repose, which never left him. When he was asked how it was with his crushed limb, he replied, jokingly, "The danger of my neck makes me forget my leg." He took care to exhort his comrades to this joyful confidence. He read to them, at night, from the Bible, and especially the sixteenth Psalm, saying, "On

to-morrow evening we shall no more in the land of the living listen to the Lord in his Word, but shall be there where the Lamb himself shall be our Scripture and our Light, in the which we shall dwell, there by the clear river of water flowing from the throne of God and the Lamb." He slept calmly, and next morning waked his comrade in suffering, John Wodrow, with the merry words, "Up, John! We do not seem as people who are to die to-day when we sleep so late!" He then prayed with great fervor that the Lord would grant him and his companions to profess a good profession that day before so many witnesses. Led to the place of execution at two o'clock (December 22, 1666), MacKail, as all who had known him were persuaded, seemed cheerful and calm as ever. His appearance as he went along the way excited, as his contemporary Kirkton relates, "such a lamentation as was never known in Scotland before ; not one dry eye upon all the street, or in all the numberless windows in the market-place." The exceeding youthfulness and gentleness of his aspect, the sweetness and repose of his face, impressed all who saw him. A deep wave of sympathy and of horror ran through the multitude, and while some cursed the bishop others prayed for the young martyr. Singing the thirty-first Psalm on his way to the scaffold, he prayed, as he reached it, with such fervor and power as made many of the people weep bitterly. When he had laid his hand on the ladder to climb up, he cried aloud, "I care no more for the going up that ladder and over it than if I were going to my father's house." Turning to his companions, he added, "My friends, be not afraid ; every rung of this ladder is a step nearer heaven."

Standing upon the ladder, he uttered his last words. He said, "I now give my life cheerfully for the truth and for the cause of God, for the covenants and the work of the Reformation, His eloquence when dying. which once was the glory of this people. Nothing save the desire to maintain it, and to pluck up the bitter root of prelacy, has brought me hither." When he saw some of his friends present in tears, he said, "Weep not, but rather pray and thank God, who has sustained me, and who will not leave me at this last hour of my earthly pilgrimage; for my trust and recompense is his promise, 'I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of life freely;' I hear the call, 'The Spirit and the bride say, Come !' I say to you, my friends, I go to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God, to the holy apostles and martyrs, to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem. I say to all, Farewell ; He will be to you a better comforter than I, and will refresh me better than you are able. Farewell, farewell in the Lord." He then prayed once more, and when his face was covered for the fall he suddenly raised the cloth, and said, "If you perhaps marvel that you see no despondency in my countenance, I will tell you the reason : Besides knowing my cause righteous, I have confidence that, as was said of

Lazarus when he died, the angels will bear away my soul into Abraham's bosom. As at this solemn moment here are great throngs of people, a scaffold, a gallows, and many who look out of the windows, so there is grander and more solemn preparing by the angels to bear my spirit to Christ's embrace. He will present it spotless and pure through his blood to the Father, and then shall I be ever with the Lord." He closed with a flight of Christian eloquence which has often amazed us: "And now I leave off to speak any more with creatures, and begin my intercourse with God, which shall never be broken off! Farewell, father and mother, friends and relations! Farewell, the world and all delights! Farewell, sun, moon, and stars! Welcome, God and Father! Welcome, sweet Jesus Christ, the Mediator of the new covenant! Welcome, blessed Spirit of Grace, the God of all consolation! Welcome, glory! Welcome, eternal life! *And welcome, death!* O Lord, into thine hand I commit my spirit. Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth!"

"Thus passed from earth," says a Scotch historian, "one of the brightest, purest, and most sanctified spirits that ever animated a mere human form; a victim to prelatic tyranny, and a rejoicing martyr for Christ's sole kingly dominion over his church, and for that sacred covenant in which the church of Scotland had vowed allegiance to her divine and only Head and King. Till the records of time shall have melted into those of eternity, the name of that young Christian martyr will be held in most affectionate remembrance and fervent admiration by every true Scottish Presbyterian, and will be regarded by the church of Scotland as one of the fairest jewels that ever she was honored to add to the conquering Redeemer's crown of glory." — K. G. R.

LIFE XII. RICHARD BAXTER.

A. D. 1615—A. D. 1691. PRESBYTERIAN, — ENGLAND.

AMONG the most remarkable men of the English evangelical church of the seventeenth century is Richard Baxter. This place he takes not only through his powerful preaching, aided as it was by royal gifts of intellect, but also by his countless writings of a practical Christian character, many of them so full of blessing.

In the history of this storm-swept period, he is seen in the very heat of the conflict which shook England, in both church and state, to her very foundations. A decided supporter of church liberty and independence, Baxter took the side of the Presbyterians as opposed to the Episcopalians, who favored the ancient alliance of the Episcopal church and the state under the king as "supreme head." Along-side these two parties, a third, the Independents, now

rose up, rejecting not only a state church, but the Presbyterian principle of representative government, maintaining rather the unlimited independency of each congregation. When these came marching under their banner of democracy and radicalism, Baxter would not flinch from the ground on which he had conscientiously planted himself in the beginning. He deeply deplored the spiritual death prevailing in the national church, and as a preacher lifted his mighty voice to insist upon individual piety. His words have found echo in the great Independent preachers of the present century. Thrown amid civil and ecclesiastical wars, Baxter avoided extreme or severe opinions. He presented still a Christ-like character, full of the peace which flows from Christ in God. He proved himself, as Neander calls him, "a man of that true and right mean which only the gospel can develop and preserve." From that gospel his whole life proceeded.

The birth of Baxter occurred in Rowton, a village in Shropshire, Sunday morning, November 12, 1615, at the hour when the bells were ringing for church service. The child was given by his parents, who were not rich in this world's goods, an example of Christian piety, to which his father, who had led a careless life, had been but recently awakened. On Sundays, while the crowd went after church service to spend the hours till late evening in excess, the father, who was nicknamed Pharisee and hypocrite for his devotion, passed the day of the Lord quietly in his family. He read to them the Bible and good books, and talked of the truths of Christianity. The impressions thus made upon the boy were fixed by means of his own careful reading of the Bible, which his father explained to him in its true historical sense, and of the few books, all of the old puritan order, which were within his reach. None the less, selfish and sensual desires found place in his mind, nor left his childhood or youth unspotted, as he himself informs us. His conscience waking, and sharply reproving him, he learned all the more deeply to hate sin and to long after purity. His in- Baxter's record of his father. debtedness to his father he thus records: "God made him his instrument to produce in me the first religious convictions and the first delight in a holy life, as well as to restrain me from grosser transgression. Even when I was very young, I was filled with horror of evil by his earnest discourse upon God and the future." The child was deeply moved by two other agencies: the earthquake which on the coronation day of Charles First put a sudden end to the extravagant rejoicing of the people, and the perusal of an old religious work entitled "The Redemption," which a poor villager had given to his father.

Baxter's growth in spirit ripened into a decision to serve Christ as a preacher of the gospel. His parents were too poor to support him in a university. He was, therefore, after a very imperfect preparation, committed to a certain London chaplain, to be trained for his calling. He

was tempted anew through his teacher to forsake religion. Help was brought him by a good friend, from whom he first heard a prayer "without the book," and in whose company he himself diligently prayed and engaged in the study of the best devotional writings. After eighteen months in London he went home, and there pursued his study of theology and his personal advancement in religion under a venerable clergyman named Garbett. Through many a conflict he pressed on to the full assurance of his peace with God. His health was greatly impaired, and to human view he had not long to live. He was therefore forced to forego his ambitious hope of a high academical degree and of literary renown. His flesh and blood were sorely mortified through his sufferings. He Baxter thankful was thence led to the more earnest effort in religion and in for sickness. preparation for eternity. He said afterwards that he devoutly thanked the kind providence of God for giving him treasure in an earthen vessel, training him in the school of suffering, and imparting to him an experience of Christ's cross, so that he might, to use Luther's words, be a doctor of the cross (*theologus crucis*) rather than a doctor of worldly renown (*theologus gloriæ*).

Baxter inflicted upon himself a pain deeper than that of his body by his own mistakes. In his severe self-examination he would keep his thoughts upon the sinfulness of his nature. Hence, he wrongly came to estimate his prospect of salvation by the liveliness of his emotions. In his state of feeling, which was made very uncertain by his bodily weakness, he would suffer doubt and anguish about the genuineness of his faith and of his religious life. "I am vexed," he says, "at my hardness of heart, and that I can think and talk of Christ and salvation, God and heaven, with so little feeling." Another mistake was his attempt to define the dying of the old nature and the beginning of new life in his heart by fixed dates and experiences. But he came out at last a conqueror. He learned not "to be constantly dwelling upon self." He saw that, with all his strict self-examining, "something higher was needed: man must look to God, to Christ, and to heaven more than to his own heart." He perceived that sovereign grace "frequently in unnoticed gentle ways converts men, and that in the converted there is much of the old man still remaining."

Baxter's spiritual training was not complete until he had won a victory in a struggle of his faith with the power of unbelief. Through the doubts of his intellect all the foundations of his belief were strengthened. Yet he encountered such "mountains of difficulty" in relation to the incarnation, person, and work of Christ that he would, he affirms, have been crushed and overwhelmed, if God had not proven his strength. He deemed it a divine favor that the struggle came long after the rooting of his heart in the truth, so that he was able to endure it. "The tree-top rising heavenward has its roots stronger and deeper, that it may withstand the dreadful storms."

Thus nobly trained by trial and struggle, Richard Baxter advanced to his work. He committed himself to the direction of God, ^{Baxter's parish.} not making effort for any particular position. His chief sphere of labor he found in preaching to the church of Kidderminster, a village in the county of Worcester. A commission had been established by the Long Parliament for the reform of the clergy (1640). Its dreaded investigation was anticipated by many unfaithful clergymen by agreeing with their churches to give a part of their incomes to support curates or assistants. The hireling vicar of Kidderminster had sorely neglected his people. The church therefore gave a call to Baxter, which he accepted as from God (April, 1641). He entered upon a period of quiet, blessed labor, made very short by the raging political tempests which involved his life in turmoil and trouble.

About the middle of this year (1641), the law passed the House of Commons abolishing the established church. A war broke out, with the friends of the church and the king, the so-called Cavaliers, on one side, and the adherents of Parliament, the Roundheads, as they were called from their closely cut hair, on the other. In February of the year following the king collected an army, in response to an appeal to the courtiers who stood by him. These events involved Kidderminster, and snatched Baxter for many months away from his congregation. One day, when he chanced to pass a Cavalier, who was reading the king's appeal in the market-place, he heard him shout after him, "There goes a traitor!" He was in danger of his life. Forced to leave Kidderminster, he found himself saluted in the shire-town, also, as a Puritan, from his style of dress, and heard the cry, "Down with the Roundheads!" He took refuge in the middle counties, intending to join the army that was gathering here on the side of Parliament against the monarch.

Though a resolute opponent of the indecent radical attack upon the state church by Independent fanatics, Baxter was a decided supporter of the Parliament, and of the Presbyterian party which controlled it. Here only he found genuine earnest Christian piety, ^{Baxter an army chaplain.} with a sincere effort for a thorough renovation of the church's life. He engaged in public services every Sabbath for the troops of Parliament and the Puritan refugees. When after the battle of Naseby (June, 1645) the Independents under Cromwell were in the ascendency, and Baxter saw the spread of fanaticism in the army, he felt called to oppose the disorder so repellent to a Presbyterian with all his power. He continued as a chaplain of a regiment, attending it in all its marches till the close of the first civil war (1647).

This unsettled life was brought to an end by a severe illness. He was received and kindly cared for at a nobleman's country-seat. During his seclusion here of four months, in the constant expectation of death, "in order to assist his thoughts heavenward and sweeten his remaining life

and his death," he composed his "Saint's Rest," a book fraught with most sacred and profound thought, and with joyous rest in God. Along with overflowing spirituality, this notable book contains significant utterances on the thorough renovation of England, which Baxter was looking for in that hour of his country's trial. He exclaims, "Oh, that I might see the whole people obedient to the gospel, and in earnest for the Reformation and the kingship of Jesus Christ! Then what a blessed country were England!"

Recovering his health, Baxter, at the call of his church, returned to Kidderminster to resume his former duties, in which he continued happily and successfully for twelve years (1648-1660). He declined a call to accompany Charles Second's army as a chaplain, in its contest with the Independents. He soon beheld the remnant of the defeated force flying through his parish. Upon the usurpation of Cromwell, Baxter was obliged to pronounce an adverse judgment. Still he recognized the good achieved by Cromwell, especially in defending liberty of conscience and of worship. He says, "I praise God that He gives me such freedom and opportunity to preach the gospel under a usurper whom I opposed, as was never enjoyed by me under a king to whom I pledged and rendered faithful obedience." Protected by Cromwell's government, Baxter displayed an amazing efficiency in his parish of Kidderminster. He sought

^{Baxter's ideal} in his labors to realize the ideal of a clergyman as he portayed the same to the preachers of his day in his book entitled "The Reformed Pastor." Under his discourses upon sin and the grace of God in Christ, moving and powerful as they were, his church became too small for his congregation. Nor did he content himself with his Sabbath sermons, but gave a week-day sermon every Thursday morning, and held meetings in his house the same day for reviewing the sermon, for conference, and for the impartation of spiritual counsel. One day every week he gathered the young for instruction in the creed and for devotional exercises. He especially promoted family worship in the houses of all church members. He invited awakened Christians to meetings, admitting whoever came, conferring with them upon questions of religious life, and leading them to edify one another. Two days in every week he catechised in fourteen families, speaking with earnestness to each individual, and administering impressive admonitions. He gave much time to looking after individuals. Every member of his parish was the object of his untiring solicitude and helpful love. He could say that among six hundred communicants there were not twelve of whom he was not able to hope that they were really pious. The savings of his scant income he used for the poor, and for the education of boys without means, of whom he trained more than one for the clerical office. He gave great thought and labor to the religious instruction of the children. He found here a lever for overcoming the opposition of unchristian parents.

Through their children he led them to Christ. He testifies that in this way were many of the adult and aged won to the gospel. He also approached fathers and mothers upon the duty of working for the Christian training of their children. He was anxious that every family should have a Bible, and that solid Christian books should be read in the parish by young and by old. The result of his labor was seen in that no schisms entered his church, and that no sects or fanatics got a foot-hold there. The parish that of late was so barren was thoroughly renewed. "When I went thither," he said, "there was in no street more than one family that called on God; when I went away there were several streets where there was not a household that did not have family worship."

To his great activity in the pastorate he added fruitfulness as a writer. He composed at this period the book already named, in which he presented to his brothers in office, with whom he met at times to discuss their common work, his portrait of the model pastor (following Paul's words, *Acts xx. 28*). He wrote also his work "On Self-Denial," revealing the depths of sin existing in selfishness. His "Call to the Unconverted" reached twenty thousand copies within twelve months. John Eliot, the evangelist of the American Indians, translated it into the Indian language. Others of the writings of Baxter are his "Now or Never," "On Conversion," and "On Peace of Conscience." The power of his books lies not in any rhetorical display, but in the plain declaration of truth founded on personal experience.

In April, 1660, Baxter left Kidderminster to accept a call to London. Here he preached (from *Ezek. xxxvi. 31*) before the Parliament upon a day of fasting and prayer, severely censuring the king's execution and the establishment of the republic. Rejoicing sincerely in the restoration of the monarchy, he took a royal chaplaincy, and devoted himself to carrying out a general church organization, but without success. Before this he had striven for a union of church parties and efforts in England. He was a member of a committee appointed by the first Parliament under the Protectorate to lay down the essential foundation articles of Christian faith as a basis of mutual toleration and of real union. In order to unite the church on the ground of the essentials of Christian faith as presented in the Apostles' Creed and the vows of baptism, Baxter would form a general church government. In every parish there should be a bishop, on the model of the ancient church. A company of overseers and stewards should be given him, chosen yearly by the congregation. The churches thus organized and self-governing should form a grand church of England, governed by diocesan and national synods. Thus the church's constitution should combine certain peculiarities of Episcopacy, Presbyterianism, and Independency.

Baxter now gave expression to his views in a conference of divines,

whose meetings were, most of them, held under the king's presidency. Before the results of the discussions were published in a royal declaration (October 25, 1660), Baxter was offered the bishopric of Hereford. He declined, expressing a preference for his old parish of Kidderminster. For he did not trust the promises of the king. He feared, as bishop, coming into conscientious conflict with the royal policy, and besides "did not know what to do with the ignorant and unqualified ministers who were come into the places of many devout divines that had lost their places by the Restoration." But he was not allowed to go back to his former quiet field. In consequence of his declinature of a bishopric he was suspected of secret hostility to his king. He was accused of traitorous and anti-royal views, on the ground of certain oral and written utterances, which had been taken out of their connections and unfavorably interpreted. In the Savoy conference (March, 1661), he still toiled untiringly to reconcile the ^{Baxter's plan of} *Episcopalians* and moderate *Puritans*. He presented the plan of a "reformed liturgy" as a substitute for the *prayer-book*. He met insuperable difficulties in the opposition of the bishops. His public work as an ecclesiast closed at this time.

The so-called "Act of Uniformity," passed by Parliament, was approved by the king (1662), with a view to restore quiet to the church. By this it was established that clergy "who do not accept unqualifiedly the *Book of Common Prayer* in the revised form appointed by the Parliament and bishops shall be deprived of their offices and incomes." As a result, two thousand clergy of *Presbyterian* or *Puritan* views were ejected. Baxter among the rest found himself excluded from every public church office. He now for the first time married, and lived quietly at *Acton*, near *London*, devoting himself to authorship. By holding in his own and other houses private religious services, which attracted many, he was accused of a crime in keeping a "conventicle," and condemned to six months' imprisonment, which was shared with him by his wife. By the "Act of Toleration" of *Charles Second* (1672), all punishments of non-comformists were suspended. Their meetings in certain places were allowed, and their preachers taken under the care of the magistrates. Baxter now regained his liberty, and preached in public in *London*, though not in any church. Yet throngs of people gathered to his sermons, so full of the unction of the *Spirit*. He composed, in addition to other eagerly read religious books, a work on family religion. He delivered discourses to the rough, ignorant people in a part of *London* notorious for the character of its inhabitants. All this excited new opposition and persecution. He lost his faithful and Christian wife (1681). He was summoned by the officials before the court. Only a physician's certificate that from dangerous illness he could not be taken, save at the peril of his life, kept him from arrest and imprisonment. He said, "As

on the stormy sea one billow crowds upon another, so follows one distress and danger upon another." His zeal was especially employed upon an explanatory paraphrase of the New Testament, for use in family worship. Upon this he met renewed persecutions. On account of some expressions in his exposition of the Testament, he was summoned by judge Jeffreys before the court, and in disregard of his request for a thorough, scholarly investigation he was condemned to pay a large fine, as an enemy of king, bishops, and church.

Baxter before Jeffreys.

In addition to all the labors described, Baxter put forth efforts in behalf of home and foreign missions. He viewed the work of extending the gospel to the unchristian world as in the largest sense a duty of the church. "It is a painful reflection," he says, "that five sixths of mankind are still pagan or Mohammedan, and that Christian princes and preachers are not doing more for their conversion." "The heart of a believer," he says in another place, "must bleed at the thought that such large numbers of mankind are pagans, Mohammedans, and infidels, and that the chief obstacle to their conversion is found in Christians themselves, with their strifes and schisms; and that Mohammedans and pagans often show more of the fear of God and of morality than the Christians who live among them." He heartily rejoiced at the mission work of John Eliot among the Indians of North America. A share in it was enjoyed by him through the translation of his "Call to the Unconverted," and through the success of his efforts to sustain a society to promote the kingdom of God among the aborigines of North America, which organized and took collections under the protection of Cromwell.

He could not rest, with the amount of physical suffering and moral depravity which existed in London before his eyes. He took in hand with energy the work of home missions for saving the lost. He showed the greatest activity in far-reaching labors of love, made necessary by the fearful plague, which swept off one hundred thousand citizens of London in a single summer (1665), and by the great fire, which laid two thirds of the city in ashes (1666). He viewed the home and family as the first and best place to begin the improvement of the community. To assist in establishing homes upon the gospel, he wrote his book for humble households, and his exposition of the New Testament, already named, for family devotion. He says, "The religious life, the welfare and renown of the church and of the state, rest chiefly on home discipline and the fulfilling of home obligations. If we neglect these, we let everything go. If you desire the improvement and welfare of your nation, do all in your power to promote the religious life of the household."

Thus untiringly Baxter toiled on for the kingdom of God till his death. On his death-bed he showed to his friends the be- liever from whose spirit flowed living water. "Ye come Approach to the "saint's rest." hither," he said at one time, "to learn to die. I assure you that your

whole life, however long it be, can scarce suffice as a preparation for dying. Make God your portion, heaven your home, God's honor your aim, his Word your guide, and then you will have nothing to fear." His oft-recurring prayer was, "God be merciful to me a sinner." Once, waking from sleep, he exclaimed, "I shall rest from my labors!" When one added, "And your works will follow you," he rejoined, "Naught of works!" He made confession, "My entire hope reposes on the grace of God in Christ." When, in his sorest pain, he had asked God for deliverance through death, he added humbly, "Yet it becomes not me to prescribe to Thee the when, the what, or the how." In his many sufferings he could joyfully testify, "I suffer pain, yet I have peace." His last words were his exclamation to a faithful friend by his bedside, "The Lord teach thee how to die!" At the advanced age of seventy-seven he expired, December 8, 1691. His joyful death accorded with his confession in his last will: "I, an unworthy servant of Jesus Christ, commit my spirit with confidence and hope of the bliss of heaven into the hands of Jesus, my glorious Redeemer and Mediator, and through his intercession into the hands of God, my reconciled Father, the infinite spirit who is light, life, and love." — D. E.

LIFE XIII. JOHN WESLEY.

A. D. 1703—A. D. 1791. METHODIST, — ENGLAND.

JOHN WESLEY, founder of the Methodist denomination, is one of the most blessed and renowned preachers of the church of Christ since the Reformation. He is among the very foremost of the great and influential spirits of the eighteenth century. To him it was granted, by God's favor, to arouse the English church, when it was ruined by a frigid deism which lost sight of Christ the Redeemer, and was almost dead, to a renewed Christian life. By preaching the justifying and renewing of the soul through belief upon Christ, he lifted many thousands of the humbler classes of the English people from their exceeding ignorance and evil habits, and made them earnest, faithful Christians. His untiring effort made itself felt not in England alone, but in America and in continental Europe. Not only the germs of almost all the existing zeal in England on behalf of Christian truth and life are due to Methodism, but the activity stirred up in other portions of Protestant Europe we must trace indirectly, at least, to Wesley. This furnishes reason enough for an effort to portray the man more vividly than he has yet been represented to the majority of Christians.

John Wesley was born June 17, 1703, at Epworth, in the county of Lincoln, in North England. His father, Samuel Wesley, was the rec-

tor or head pastor of the village, and was a learned and venerable clergyman of the English established church. His mother, Wesley's father too, was a woman of ardent piety and of culture. She and mother maintained with her son, when he went to the university, an intimate correspondence in reference to questions of religion. John Wesley entered Oxford University when seventeen years old (1720), and became a member of Christ Church College. When twenty-two (1725) he was ordained a deacon; when twenty-five (1728) a priest or presbyter, which is the second of the clerical degrees of the church of England. He had before this (1726) become a fellow of Lincoln College, that is, a senior member of that corporation of students, with a right to a free dwelling and a free table. At the same time he was a teacher of Greek. Both in this and in the study of other ancient languages he distinguished himself. His talents and acquirements were subjects of universal remark in the university. Afterwards (1729), he served as tutor, or trainer of the students. He had, in the mean while, lent assistance to his father in the performance of his duties as a minister.

While Wesley was yet a student he had, under the impulse of the letters of his mother, inclined to a thoughtful course of life. This tendency was increased by his perusal of devotional books, especially the writings of Thomas à Kempis, of Jeremy Taylor, and of Law. His efforts in religion were, however, of an ascetic kind. He strove to keep the law by crucifying himself. He looked at belief upon Christ simply as one of the commandments. His brother, Charles Wesley, five years younger than he, and later than he in coming to Oxford, while a young man of correct habits, for a long time repelled his brother's admonitions to a serious course of life. He was of a more lively disposition. But he, too, underwent a change when about twenty-one (1729). He devoted himself to reading and study, became concerned about his soul, went every Sunday to the communion, and joined several other students with him in a similar way of living. Some one who noticed this gave Charles Wesley, by way of ridicule, the name of Methodist. He intended, it would seem, an allusion to a religious sect of the preceding century, which had received this name on account of its peculiarities, but had endured only a short time. Our students in Oxford University did not quarrel with the name. Upon the return of John Wesley to Oxford, in 1729, he too entered the club, and by his more mature and controlling mind grew to be its leading spirit. They extended their efforts to persons outside their number, especially to the imprisoned, the poor, and the sick. At a later day, George Whitefield was one of their company. This loyal-hearted, thoroughly earnest living together and laboring together continued until 1735. The young men had to endure many evil reports. The Wesley brothers were compensated, however, by the approval which their father, after due inquiry, bestowed upon them.

Samuel Wesley died in 1735. This same year the brothers (Charles having also received ordination) set out for Georgia, in North America. They had been invited to go thither to care for the religious wants of the colonists, and for the christianization of the Indians. Upon their passage they fell into the company of several Moravian brethren, members of the association recently renewed by the labors of count Zinzendorf. With them were their wives and children. It was noted by John Wesley in his diary that, in a great tempest, when the English people on board lost all self-possession, these Germans impressed him by their composure and entire resignation to God. He also marked their humility under shameful treatment. Wesley preached and labored in Georgia with diligence. His efforts were too much directed to attaining perfection by the law, and hence failed of effect. By the beginning of 1738 he was back in London. He gave himself to reading the works of the mystics, but without attaining peace. His spirit sought for greater clearness of vision and for more strength. He was obliged to pass through the most serious mental conflicts. He met at this time, by the grace of God, the Moravian brother, Peter Böhler. By his words the struggling, inquiring spirit was turned to the righteousness which is obtained without price from the divine favor through belief upon Jesus. This truth laid Wesley attains hold upon Wesley's soul, and never again left it. Wesley religious rest. thought that he knew the day and the hour in which he obtained the assurance of the forgiveness of his sins. Upon May 24, 1738, he entered a religious meeting in which he heard read Luther's introduction to the Epistle to the Romans. "Then," says Wesley, "as the change was described which is wrought upon the heart by God through faith in Christ, I felt my own heart peculiarly warmed. I felt that I relied upon Christ alone for salvation. There was given me the assurance that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and had saved me from the law of sin and death." Thus in his thirty-fifth year Wesley placed himself upon the foundation of the Holy Scripture, of Paul, and of the whole reformed church. He never forsook it down to the day when, after fifty-three more long years had been given him, he ended his earthly life. He unfolded, however, in accordance with his own clear, strong intellect, the doctrine which he embraced as a believing Christian. He declared it with blessed result to many thousands whom the Lord brought to him as hearers and inquirers. Of this work in its essentials let us speak farther.

After Wesley had passed through the great mental experience of his Wesley in Ger- life, he went over to Germany, to study more closely the many. denomination whose members had exerted upon him so blessed an influence. He visited count Zinzendorf in Marienbrunn, and went also to Herrnhut. Assisted in mind by what he saw and heard, he came back to London (September, 1738). Here he continued for some

time his intercourse with the Moravian Brethren. He thought, however, that he noticed in several of their utterances a degree of Antinomianism, or of a disposition to slight God's law by reason of God's grace. For this reason he dissolved his connection with these English Herrnhuters. Nothing was more opposed to Wesley's way of thinking than men's considering themselves absolved from keeping the law, when they have accepted an unconditional election from God. Wesley found an evidence of God's free forgiveness in this, that his children are filled with a warm desire, out of gratitude and a true love to Him, to observe his commands, and to persevere in them unto the end. This principle of his is the main mark of distinction between Wesley and those holding the Herrnhuter or the extreme Lutheran position. Wesley thought that he saw Antinomian elements in some of Luther's writings. He especially disliked the assaults upon the law, upon human reason, and upon good works in Luther's commentary upon Galatians.

The two Wesleys, and with them Whitefield, the most gifted of all their friends, began now to preach in the churches of London and of other cities the gospel as a proclamation of free ^{Whitefield and the Wesleys.} forgiveness to sinners, and with it repentance and belief upon Jesus. Their preaching met approval and also opposition, the latter especially from the majority of the clergy, from the cultivated people, and from the lower classes. The clergy of the established church and the most devoted church people among the laity were then for the most part oppressed by a deadly formalism. The Christian doctrine had become to them a church tradition. Faith was regarded even by the bishops as a "work," or as one of the Christian virtues. In the world of culture there prevailed a deism, proud of its conscious rectitude, or else vain and frivolous. The masses were a prey to increasing barbarism, godlessness, and delusion. Among the dissenting Christians there was more seriousness. Yet Socinianism by denying the divinity of Christ, and Pelagianism by rejecting man's natural sinfulness, had weakened their faith, also. Wesley's sermons stirred up a ferment. Soon all the pulpits in London were closed to him. He found himself limited to private dwellings and to jails. Wesley, as a preacher, had the greatest composure of mind and most polished eloquence. It was not, therefore, his sensational manner, or his style of expressing his thoughts, ^{Opposed by English bishops.} that stirred the English bishops and other clergy to prohibit his preaching. It was the substance of his preaching, the story of the cross, of reconciliation by Jesus' blood, of faith in Christ, of a forgiveness that must be personally experienced. For these were the especial subjects of Wesley's sermons. He declared persistently that he was thoroughly true to the confession of the Church of England, that he believed and taught with the church as to God, the person of Christ, and the Holy Spirit; yet he insisted that justifying and saving faith is not the

reception of the doctrine, but is an experience in the life, — a new life, created in us by God. By this life the heart is turned to holiness, love, and unlimited trust in God. "He," every one should be able to say for himself, "for the sake of Christ receives me as his child, and gives me a new heart, which purposes forever after lovingly to observe his commandments." The earlier preachers, even in the church of Germany, handled the truth of justification through faith too much as a mere doctrine or notion. Methodism took it up as a practical principle, which lies at the foundation of moral and religious living. The unfolding of it as a doctrinal proposition, logically and scripturally, was not its special mission. Many have unjustly set forth as the peculiarity of Methodist preaching that it requires an instantaneous conversion to be perceived in the heart and in the experience. Such it does not demand, but it does declare that, in some circumstances, conversion comes from God in this manner. This must be asserted, since God's Spirit works in one way as freely as in another, and since a sudden and powerful work of grace must often occur as a necessity in the passing of untaught yet noble spirits out of darkness into light, out of sin into righteousness. Examples of the same are given in the Bible.

Whitefield was the first Methodist to preach in the open air. He did ^{Open-air preaching.} so in Bristol. Wesley followed his example. The results in that city, and in hundreds of other places, were amazing. The people by thousands thronged about the preachers. Their mighty singing was heard for miles around. The sound came as a message of heaven to the lower classes, neglected as they were by the too reserved mother church. Unmistakable marks of conversion in heart and in life were given in persons of all classes, even in those whose wickedness was notorious, as, for instance, the colliers of Cornwall and Kingswood. Remarkable mental and physical manifestations occurred at times, convulsive trembling, weeping, or laughing preceding the more calm reception of the Word. Wesley has narrated these occurrences, but has made them matters neither of praise nor of importance. The successes won by Methodist preaching had to be gained through a long series of years, and amid the most bitter persecutions. In nearly every part of England it was met at the first by the mob with stonings and peltings, with attempts at wounding and slaying. Only at times was there any interference on the part of the civil power. The two Wesleys faced all these dangers with amazing courage, and with a calmness equally astonishing. Charles Wesley displayed an unfaltering readiness to endure shame for the sake of Christ, thus proving himself to be worthy according to the apostolic standard. What was more irritating to the mind was the heaping up of slander and abuse by the writers of the day. The minds of the evangelists were not affected, though a flood of romances poured forth (such as were popular at the time), full of ridicule of the

people who were looking for a great work of grace in their souls. These books are now all forgotten. The literature of England, in a large part, has, through the influence of this same Methodism, acquired a religious character, which recognizes the gospel and the need of God's grace.

There occurred, unfortunately, a separation, in 1741, between Wesley and Whitefield. The latter inclined, and that very decidedly, to the strictest Calvinistic views upon election. For a long time he looked upon Wesley as preaching another gospel than his. Wesley, with the independence and plainness peculiar to him, solved the question as to conditioned or unconditioned election, which in a measure was let alone by the Church of England, by teaching a real implanting of faith by God, and yet a resistance on the part of man. He stood unalterable in this Arminian view, as practical and scriptural. In it he approached Lutheranism. But there was no personal feeling in his parting from Whitefield. In 1754, the two again preached each for the other. They maintained their private intimacy, and in 1770 Wesley preached the funeral discourse of his friend. Whitefield's efforts did not equal Wesley's in outward results. He founded no denomination. At a later period (1770), there arose a warm contest out of the opposition of Wesleyan Arminianism to strict Calvinism. The excellent Fletcher, a clergyman of the English church, supported the views of Wesley in his solid volumes.

Wesley now found himself driven more and more to the organizing of churches. A base of operations had been given the ^{Wesley organizes classes.} labors of himself and his associates by the erection, in 1740, of a chapel at Moorfields, near London. His adherents in the populous cities and districts of England wanted instruction in God's Word and pastoral care. They were led to this the more in that the majority of the clergy of the Anglican church ceased to regard those as their parishioners who frequented Methodist services. Wesley was therefore compelled to establish societies in many places. The members of these not only observed public worship, but organized themselves into small "classes," for the sake of maintaining Christian discipline among themselves, of conferring together, of making religious confessions, and giving brotherly admonitions. This was the chief peculiarity and novelty in Methodism in its relation to the individual Christian life. It depended not so much upon the clergy as upon mutual care, exhortation, correction, and consolation. Thus was provided a great means of help for the moral needs of the lower classes, and a mode of exercising general Christian fellowship by all church members. Wesley gave these societies directions for Christian living, and rules of conduct, which were to be voluntarily subscribed by every member. Every one of the classes was given a leader. Here lies the secret of Methodism holding together. It is not to be found in any outside aim or attraction. It may be true that in the use

of experience meetings at a later day, in England and in America, serious abuses existed. But neither Wesley nor his plans for his denomination deserve the blame for this.

Wesley received severe and unkind treatment at the hands of the leaders of the established church. He was not indeed cast out, but he and his doings were disowned. He was obliged then to take up a position in opposition to the Episcopalian body. In his way of doing this he showed both wisdom and piety. He avoided carefully a formal separation. He appointed hours for public worship different from the hours of the services of the Anglican pastors. He advised his people to attend the parish churches. Only when the clergy were irreligious, erroneous, and spiteful were the hours of his meetings placed at the hours of the Episcopalian worship. After a time the communion was administered by the Wesley brothers. The traveling preachers, chosen at a later period from among the laity, were indeed ordained, but not with the laying on of hands, that respect might be paid to this as a right pertaining to the bishops. This arose from no superstition as to the exclusive power of bishops to ordain lawfully and effectively. Wesley asserted often that in the days of the Apostles elders and bishops were the same. He also ordained by the laying on of hands those who were to labor in Scotland and in America, since those countries had no bishops appointed by law. Wesley regarded the Episcopal constitution of the English church a matter of political growth and expediency, and not of divine authority. While this completely explains the opposition to him on the part of a portion of the English clergy even till this day, it makes Methodism only the more adapted to become the means of a reconciliation between the established English church and the dissenters.

Wesley was untiring in his efforts to disseminate useful knowledge throughout his denomination. He especially thought of the mental culture of his traveling preachers and local exhorters, and of schools of instruction for the future teachers of the church. He himself prepared books for popular use upon universal history, church history, and natural history. In this Wesley was an apostle of the modern union of mental culture with Christian living. He circulated Christian tracts and various sheets intended to promote religious awakening. He published also the best matured of his sermons and various theological works. These, both by their depth and their penetration of thought, and by their purity and precision of style, excite our amazement. This is especially true of his writings upon original sin and upon election, his edition of the New Testament with notes, and his "Addresses to the People upon Religion and Reason," in which he makes a powerful defense of Christianity.

The entire management of his ever-growing denomination rested upon

Wesley himself. So also did the advising, the arranging, the composing of difficulties, the disciplining of preachers, of exhorters, and of the visitors of the sick throughout the country.

The annual conference, established in 1744, acquired a governing power only after the death of Wesley. His brother fell behind him as behind one fitted to rule. Charles Wesley, however, rendered the society a service incalculably great by his hymns. They are the really poetical outpourings of an evangelical experience of forgiveness and Christian life. They introduced a new era in the hymnology of the English church. John Wesley apportioned his days to his work in leading the church, to studying (for he was an incessant reader), to traveling, and to preaching. His traveling was in order to preach. What he accomplished with his frame, which was hardly ever ill, borders upon the incredible. Upon entering his eighty-fifth year he thanks God for this, that he is still almost as vigorous as ever. He ascribes it, under God, to the fact that he had always slept soundly, had risen for sixty years at four o'clock in the morning, and for fifty years had preached every morning at five. Seldom in all his life did he feel any pain, care, or anxiety. He preached twice each day, and often thrice or four times. It has been estimated that he traveled every year forty-five hundred English miles, mostly upon horseback. Ireland and Scotland he visited each several times, and Holland twice. He ever kept his mind open and attentive to the beauties of nature and to objects of local interest, as is shown by many spirited allusions in his diary.

Wesley never enjoyed the blessedness of home life. Here, perhaps, is the only thing, or almost the only thing, that can be said against his life, which has been so publicly known. He married, in 1751, a widow, one Mrs. Vizelle. Although it was definitely arranged that Wesley was not to be obliged to change his mode of life on account of his marriage, his wife could not endure his frequent absences. She was disturbed by jealousy. She suffered herself to proceed to slanders of her husband, and to the forging of letters respecting him. Many times she abandoned him. He was able, however, to win her back. At last she left him, and Wesley gave her up, but without seeking a separation from her by law. In this part of Wesley's life we find one serious mistake committed by a man otherwise so illustrious.

The older brother, John, saw Charles descend to the grave earlier than himself. The venerable poet, who had been the happy father of a family, died in 1788, at the age of seventy-nine. John Wesley's death. Wesley lived to see his denomination extending near and far in Great Britain and in America; the persecutions waged against him changing over a large portion of the country to respect and admiration; his association accorded civil recognition and the rights of a corporation by a decree of the court of royal chancery; and to observe public thought in his nation

in many ways revolutionized in favor of Christianity. Then the old man, serenely strong in the faith, crowned with God's favor, and full of good works, heard his summons home.

On the 17th of February, 1791, Wesley fell ill. He nevertheless preached the day following upon the words, "The king's business required haste" (1 Samuel xxi. 8); and also upon the day after. Upon February 23d, he preached for the last time, upon "Seek ye the Lord while He may be found, call ye upon Him while He is near" (Isaiah lv. 6). He grew weaker rapidly. Awakening out of sleep, he continually sang stanzas of hymns. He said over and over, "I am the chief of sinners, but Jesus died for me." There was repeated to him, at his request, the text of one of his last sermons: "For ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though He was rich, yet for your sakes He became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich" (2 Corinthians viii. 9). He responded, saying, "That is the foundation, the only foundation, than which there is none other laid." Once more he said, "The best of all is, that God is with us." Frequent prayers were offered in his presence and for him, to which he often responded with his "Amen." His last words were spoken to a friend: "Fare you well." He died without a struggle March 2, 1791, shortly before noon, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. Upon the 9th of March he was solemnly interred, in the presence of many ministers of the Word, and amid the tears of a great multitude. A tablet to his memory, with a significant inscription, may be found in the City Road Chapel in London.

When Wesley died, his denomination in Europe, America, and the West Indies numbered eighty thousand members. Fifty years later there were in Great Britain and the colonies over three hundred thousand communicants, besides half a million in the United States.

John Wesley was of but ordinary stature, and yet of noble presence. His features were very handsome even in old age. He had an open brow, an eagle nose, a clear eye, and a fresh complexion. His manners were fine, and in choice company with Christian people he enjoyed relaxation. He was fond at such times of talking, and would conclude the evening with prayer and singing. Persistent, laborious love for men's souls, steadfastness, and tranquillity of spirit were his most prominent traits of character. Even in doctrinal controversies he exhibited the greatest calmness. The opposition of subordinates to his management of affairs sometimes called forth from him expressions of displeasure, but he was easily appeased. He was kind and very liberal. His industry has been named already. In the last fifty-two years of his life, it is estimated, he preached more than forty thousand sermons.

There are probably only two men of the eighteenth century who can be likened to this great and richly favored servant of God. These two are Zinzendorf and Oberlin. Zinzendorf may be compared with Wesley

John Wesley

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in that he founded a new Christian society, distinguished by a pure doctrine and discipline. But Zinzendorf did this upon the foundation of an old denomination. Wesley, on the other hand, raised up an entirely new body. Zinzendorf exerted influence upon the heart of a society for its revival, especially in a few foundation truths; Wesley upon whole throngs of neglected people for their moral transformation. Zinzendorf was genial, original, poetical, but also peculiar. Wesley was more human, more distinct in his theology, and more effective in his labors. John Oberlin made of a perishing people a Christian family, but it was only the population of a little valley in the Vosges Mountains. Wesley brought sinners to repentance throughout three kingdoms and over two hemispheres. Oberlin applied the Christian religion thoughtfully to the affairs of every-day life. Wesley preached God's grace as a general principle, begetting obedience, and opening a fountain of peace to mankind. Oberlin was the shepherd, father, and chief of a parish. Wesley was the bishop of such a diocese as neither the Eastern nor the Western church ever witnessed before. What is there in the circle of Christian effort — foreign missions, home missions, Christian tracts and literature, field preaching, circuit preaching, Bible readings, or aught else that may be named — which was not attempted by John Wesley, which was not grasped by his mighty mind through the aid of his Divine Leader? — K. H. S.

LIFE XIV. WILLIAM WILBERFORCE.

A. D. 1759—A. D. 1833. EPISCOPALIAN, — ENGLAND.

AMONG the greatest names of modern days is that of Wilberforce. In all the relations of life he was a man approved of God. In him Christianity appears as flesh and blood. His purifying, every way vivifying, and world-subduing efforts have been made a blessing to millions of mankind.

William Wilberforce was born August 24, 1759, at Hull, in England, the only son of a wealthy merchant. The boy, left fatherless at nine years of age, proved of frail body, but of a powerful mind and affectionate heart. In the home of Christian relatives he received deep impression from the Word of God and the love of the Master. The mother, disliking the religious influence of this home, called him back to Hull, and tried by social amusements to cure of his new views the youth who was so admirably suited to shine in society. This attempted cure may not have been in itself a desirable thing; yet it was of use to Wilberforce in so far that it preserved him from falling into sectarian narrowness, and kept him within a church in which he was to do so much

afterwards for the benefit of his people and of humanity. Meantime, the circle of his earnestly Christian relatives impressed upon him a seriousness of thought by which the usual temptations of youth were largely deprived of their power. A prophecy of what his life was to be seemed to be given when Wilberforce, at fifteen years of age, sent to the publisher of a journal an essay upon the horrible slave-trade.

At seventeen the youth went to Cambridge University, well prepared, both mentally and physically, and especially gifted in conversation and oratory, which were to be the instruments of his later achievements. He soon repelled the bad from his society. His vivacity, his winsomeness, and his large fortune made him the centre of a large circle, which did not indeed lead him into riotous living, but, as he lamented afterwards, kept him from diligent study and carefully planned effort. A proof of his conscientiousness is that when he left the university he preferred to forego its honors rather than to subscribe carelessly the articles of the church creed, with which his convictions did not then fully agree.

Having decided to enter into public life, he presented himself at his father's home as a candidate for Parliament. At two and twenty Wilberforce carried the election, and soon took a prominent place both as an orator in the House of Commons and as a man of society. He was joined with Pitt, the great statesman and minister, in close friendship; other worthy men were attracted to him, and the public prints were full of his praise. After a dissolution of Parliament, he was elected over very wealthy and powerful opponents to represent Yorkshire, the largest county in England. Thus quickly he rose to the summit of fortune. What temptations offered themselves to the ambition of a young man such as Wilberforce! But the spirit which was to be an agent of God had been endowed by Him with a great degree of self-control. Wilberforce joined with forty members of the House of Commons in a pledge never to take from the government an appointment, a pension, or a title of nobility. Of the forty, he and one friend of his were all who kept their vow to remain through life independent. He was content to remain always William Wilberforce.

But no! He was not to be content with the name which he had. Another name had been appointed him of God. To be independent, to be free as regards man, is a great thing; but only he is free whom the Son makes free; only a servant of God will escape being man's servant. Only God's freedman will be able to lead his brothers to freedom. To this mission Wilberforce was summoned. God therefore gave an inner call and secret seal to the man praised in social and political circles. He led him from the throng of the great city to a lonely country life for self-contemplation and for self-

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crated.

improvement. Wilberforce did not turn his back upon God. He persuaded his friend Pitt, when visiting him, to go upon Sunday to the house of God. Making a journey to Italy (1784), he preferred as traveling companion a Christian, yet one who could pass as a man of society, and was not extreme in his views. In the comrade chosen God gave Wilberforce, even against his knowledge and wish, an Ananias (Acts ix. 10). By conversation with him, and by reading with him Doddridge's "Rise and Progress of Religion," Wilberforce was constrained to do like them of Berea (Acts xvii. 11). To search rightly whether these things were so, he read upon another journey the New Testament in the original. He became more thoughtful; his naturally truth-loving mind was impressed by Christian truth; his conscience told him that he, amid the pleasures of earth, was not living as a Christian, was neglecting the interests of his soul, and that it would be a fearful thing, departing from such a life, to fall into the hands of the living God. He began to pray. He became sensible of the profound sinfulness of the human heart; he lamented his ingratitude, and his unjust stewardship of the gifts of God. It was a life-and-death struggle with him. He read the Bible with growing zeal; also other Christian books. He attended church regularly; he began family worship. Careful self-examination showed him directly that there was danger not only of natural pride, but also of spiritual. His friends could not understand how a man of such a spotless manner of life could accuse himself of sinfulness. Some thought that he would withdraw wholly from society; others that social life would soon cure his seriousness; still a third set heaped their mockeries upon his "canting."

Wilberforce, however, stood faithful to Him who called him, faithful to the church, and faithful to his office of working in the world and upon the world, yet as one who is not of the world. While he unbosomed himself most freely to his Christian friends, he did not shun society. He found his chief source of knowledge in God's Word. He none the less devoured the secular information necessary for his worldly position. Devoting himself to his utmost ability to public life, he at the same time sought to promote the spiritual interests of his fellows. John Wesley was at that time awakening the lower classes of England. Wilberforce, coming from the shadow of death into the light, was to be an agent of a like work with the higher classes, among whom his life was cast. Armed with truth, he lovingly opposed in social intercourse falsehood and the profanation of holy things. He succeeded (1787) in found- Found a reform society. ing an association to oppose the spread of immorality, and in securing a royal summons to the chief landed proprietors to execute the law against the desecration of the day of rest, against drunkenness, and against immoral publications. All the bishops of England and all the members of the upper and lower houses joined his society. This blessed enterprise was a beginning of the association work which is still

found in England aiding the kingdom of God. At a later day (1803), Wilberforce exerted himself to aid the foundation of the great British Bible Society. All missionary societies found in him an influential advocate with the government. He expended his efforts for ten years, until at last consent was won to the sending of missionaries and teachers to India. A faithful friend of the poor, he contributed freely to the relief of distress. Mindful of the word of his Saviour, he took pleasure in helping in person the prisoners in the jails and the sick in the hospitals. He took time for this, in spite of the tremendous burden of duties which came upon him as the representative of the largest English county, in spite of the varied demands of his constituents, because he was a Christian. Nor was the coming generation out of his mind. He cared with liberal hand for day-schools and Sunday-schools. He was associated in this especially with the large-hearted author, Hannah More. She wrote of him, "The life of this young man is the most extraordinary among all known to me, possessed as it is of talents, tact, and piety." At the time she was writing thus, he was noting in his diary, "My heart is, above all, encompassed by evil." Partly for his own upbuilding, partly for the good of his associates in rank, he turned to efforts with the pen. For almost eight years he labored in the few leisure hours which were allowed him by his arduous position, and by his residence each year in

Wilberforce's
"Practical
View." Bath, upon a book in which he would show to the world of the wealthy and distinguished the difference between the almost Christian and the entire Christian. It was published

in 1797, under the title, "A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious Conceptions of the Higher and Middle Classes of our Land, as compared with True Christianity." It spoke of sin and of grace, of the foundations of Christian doctrine, of faith which works by love, and of a whole-hearted service of the Lord. His friends advised him against printing it. Hardly was a publisher to be found. But the book was "spirit and life." It was the fruit of the thorough experience of one who was resolved "to live believably by the help of the Holy Spirit, to go forward zealously, thoughtfully, and humbly, only trying to honor God and to do good to his fellow-men." In a few days the first edition of the book was exhausted, in six months five editions were taken, afterward fifteen. It was translated into all the languages of European Christendom, and went to North America and to the Indies. Men in the highest classes were through it led to Christianity; scholars and clergymen owned the blessing brought to them by this book of a layman; the great statesman Burke, in his dying hour, sent his thanks to Wilberforce for its publication. This success encouraged him and a few friends to further effort for their country by the publication of a periodical, "The Christian Observer" (1801).

Everything which Wilberforce was, or was doing, came to pass amid

a social and political whirlpool. The times were beset by wars and by distresses. Amid the threatening occurrences of the period he contracted his marriage with Barbara Anna Spooner (1797), ^{His home life.} with whom he lived in most happy union. His exceedingly hospitable home was one of his means of carrying on his work. Purposing to serve his Master in this way, he lived in a great degree of publicity in his own home, as a light placed upon a candlestick, or a city set upon a hill. With the throng of his guests, this view of a Christian home was one of the best ways to prepossess them in favor of religion, and to incite them to follow his example. Strangers, as well as his own children, could learn in his house how a man could have his citizenship in heaven without foregoing human society, and how cheerful a man may be in his life without endangering his Christianity.

Wilberforce, indeed, found how boundless is the temptation presented in a life so public. He therefore daily sought his closet, and at times a life of seclusion, to commune with his conscience and his God. He thus kept down rising ambition and other evil desires, nourishing and defending his soul by the Word, the sacrament, and prayer. His diaries witness his inner conflicts and victories, without which he had proven worse than useless in the public conflicts in the Parliament. While in general men who are subject to no parties are displeasing to every party, Wilberforce seemed to almost all parties as a spokesman for God, an incorruptible friend of truth, and an acknowledged umpire. When he spoke respecting any subject or any individual, it was the voice of the public conscience. But without his daily penitent prayer and renewal of heart he had not been equal to maintaining this mighty, heroic championship of philanthropy. For a life-time he persevered in it unmoved, unwearied, and in the end victorious. Such divine strength in a divine cause is given only to him who has wrestled with God and been subdued by Him.

The contest against the shameful slave-trade presents an amazing spectacle. It is a genuine spiritual battle; in it Satan and, at his call, all the powers of hell, covetousness, greed, hardheartedness, calumny, slander, and hatred, even to murder, were warning for their prey; while the good spirits and Wilberforce contended for more than twenty years in demonstration of the Spirit and in the power of devotion and self-sacrifice, with tongue and with pen, with defeat ten times over, with rallying ten times repeated in greater strength than ever, until the victory was won. King and court, princes and ministers, friends and foes of political liberty, now the House of Commons, now the House of Lords, again both houses together, mammon at home, and the throng of slave-merchants and slave-owners abroad rose up against him. But God was with him, and he was with God; he could not but prevail.

We have named already the enthusiasm of Wilberforce when fifteen

The battle
against the
slave-trade.

years old for the cause of the slave. When twenty-eight the full-grown man, renewed in the image of his Creator, came to see in his black fellow-men the image of God, lying in shame and bondage, sighing for the glorious freedom of the sons of God. He took it as his life-work to procure for them their rights before man and God. Four years he studied all the relations and circumstances of negro slave-trading. He then, in union with other noble spirits, made the first effort on the side of the slave with the administration, which was well disposed towards him. He soon obtained a mitigation of the sufferings of the slaves sold into bondage. At once the foe was excited. Doubly prepared by effort and prayer, Wilberforce presented the great question (May 12, 1789) in the House of Commons in a masterly oration of four and a half hours. The better people all declared the slave-trade a shame to the nation, and its abolition a necessity, and yet the motion of Wilberforce was defeated. He pursued the foe through all his turnings and intrigues, bringing forward witnesses and evidence which required months for its procuring. His second attempt occurred April 18, 1791. Though receiving the support of the best men, it did not succeed. A society was now formed to trade with Sierra Leone, in order to supply evidence that the negroes were susceptible of moral and spiritual improvement. The voice of the nation was aroused more and more to favor the cause of Wilberforce. Relying upon this, he again presented his motion (April 2, 1792) for the putting down of the slave-trade. A gradual abolition was now sought, extending to January 1, 1796. But the measure was not confirmed. Wilberforce reaped a new harvest of abuse, slander, and persecution, which even approached an attempt at murder. Not despairing and devoid of fear, Wilberforce again introduced his motion, February 26, 1793, but again in vain. Many now grew weary, but not Wilberforce. "As one who fears God," he felt himself obliged to war upon the ruinous business. In the years following he at one time carried the House of Commons, but not the House of Lords. He fell into disfavor at court on account of his black protégés. Deeply affected, he could only say, "O Lord, thy will be done!" There came a voice to his soul, "The ruinous trade cannot outlive the eighteenth century." He pushed his motion again in 1795, but again failed. Sorrowing for his nation, he implored the House of Commons (February 19, 1796) not to despise the long-suffering of Heaven. His words had effect. He carried the first and second readings, but on the third was defeated. Deeply pained by the intrigues of the foe, he fell seriously ill. They, however, who wait upon the Lord renew their strength, mount up with wings as eagles, run and are not weary, walk and do not faint. Wilberforce had wearied had he not advanced in his soul life. But amid his public defeats he won in his closet "one victory after another." He and every one who sided with him were to know that there was a righteous God in

Zion. Growing, by his penitent faith, into a more mature and complete Christian, destined to do good and endure evil, on May 15, 1797, soon after his marriage, he presented his motion again, mindful of the slumbering wrath of God. He was again outvoted, amid the scoffs and jeers of his opponents. The question came up anew April 3, 1798, when Pitt and Fox and Canning lent it the aid of their mighty eloquence. It was again decided adversely, although only by a majority of four voices. The next spring there was a new motion, a new admonition of the House against hard-heartedness, and a new defeat. The House of Lords would never agree even to the little which the Commons decreed for the benefit of the slave. Wilberforce was overthrown and deeply shaken in his spirit, but not in his sense of duty. He was able upon May 30, 1804, to renew his old motion, supporting it by new arguments, and now triumphed by one hundred and twenty-four votes against forty-nine. Joy overwhelmed his spirit. Congratulations poured in from ^{At last victorious.} all sides upon one who, to the very moment of his victory, had been waging the greatest battle which a human being ever carried on. The well-tried victor did not, however, yet consider it the hour in which to sing songs of triumph. He wrote (1807) a new pamphlet upon the slave-trade, and distributed it among the peers of the Upper House, where the royal princes and some of the ministry were among his most stubborn opponents. The conflict came upon February 3d. The following morning, at five o'clock, the victory was won by one hundred votes against thirty-four. With fear and trembling Wilberforce betook himself to God in that moment of the final decision. Upon February 23d he displayed the glory of his eloquence and the power of his argument in the House, where a last division upon the question showed two hundred and eighty-three members for the abolition of the slave-trade against sixteen opposing it. A month later the law was finally approved by the Lords, and two weeks afterwards received the royal signature.

Thus Wilberforce's great battle for humanity gained the victory, his chief task in life attained success. Humbly, as an unworthy instrument, he gave the thanks to God. With eminent wisdom he now devoted himself to securing and making use of his splendid achievement. The African Society, his means for this, was prospered of God beyond his prayers or his knowledge. When the rulers who had conquered Napoleon visited London, they paid their respects to Wilberforce "as the most loved and respected person in all England." Wilberforce had lent large aid, with property and with voice, to the Germans who struggled to overthrow Napoleon, and was an intimate friend of Blücher. He now petitioned the czar Alexander to coöperate in embodying the abolition of the slave-trade in the treaty of peace. Thus untiringly Wilberforce did for his cause everything that was possible, both at home and abroad.

All the efforts of Wilberforce for the perfect execution of the laws

against the slave-trade were in vain. He felt himself, therefore, forced to take a step in advance, and to attempt slave emancipation. In 1823 he published a pamphlet, which was widely circulated, in favor of transforming the slaves gradually into free peasants, and of giving them at once religious instruction, permission to marry, and facilities for earning their freedom. Upon the 16th of March, 1824, Wilberforce adjured the Parliament to labor for this high object promptly and constantly. Upon the 15th of June he spoke in the Commons for the last time. He had fulfilled his mission in life in the abolition of the slave-trade, and in opening the way to slave emancipation. He had before this been warned of the approach of old age, and had given up representing the largest English county, accepting instead a seat for a small borough, thus gaining more leisure to attend to his children and to his own soul. Oppressed by age and sickness, he finally withdrew from public life. He left Parliament in 1825, the first, by general consent, of its members in oratory, in spotless patriotism, in untiring advocacy of peace, morality, and religion, in care for the poor, in unselfish benefaction, in careful arbitration, and in mediation between man and man; in a word, the rare spirit who for forty-four years of toil in Parliament had taken no rank, no pay, and had won for his reward simply this, to be known as the greatest friend of humanity in all his generation.

Record as a public man.

The warrior of sixty-six years, who had fought for the liberty of millions, and had helped so largely the moral and religious improvement of his own nation, looked with modesty, and even with a reproving conscience, back upon his public life. He had, he said, made a poor use of his gifts, but he trusted that he had served a merciful Master, one who giveth liberally and upbraideth not. In calm serenity, honored by all parties, without show or pretension, severe only upon himself and his faults, anxious in everything to serve God, the beloved old man lived a retired life, looking gladly to another world. Yet his last years were not free from heavy trials. Hateful calumnies, death among his loved ones, and the loss of wealth through misfortune bowed him down. Friends would have made up the last, but Wilberforce believed that he ought to show that a Christian could live as happily without fortune as with it. The worst trial was that he could not continue his accustomed liberality. He sold his country-seat and his library, and lived with his sons. He came out of his retirement only once more, upon the occasion of a gathering of the friends of the slave in 1833. The solution of the problem was to be complete emancipation, which he advocated, with compensation to the slave-holder. This was his last address. The baths at Bath lost their power with him. He felt that the time was come for his conflict with the last enemy. His petition was for forgiveness and grace. He was of the number of the few chosen ones who have found deep peace here on earth. Upon a glorious summer day, July 26, 1833, he was car-

ried in a chair out into the open air to rejoice his body and soul once more in the contemplation of the works of God, who had followed him with goodness and mercy his life long. A message was brought just then that the motion of his friend Buxton for the abolition of slavery had passed through Parliament. "Thank God," cried Wilberforce, "that I have been suffered to live to see this day Dies in a time of victory. when England is ready to sacrifice twenty millions of pounds sterling to emancipate her slaves!" After this last bright gleam, he was greatly prostrated by a fit of apoplexy. A friend said to him, "But you have your foot upon the rock." "I dare not speak so confidently," replied he, "but I hope that I have it there." After this he sighed deeply and fell asleep, July 29, 1833, aged seventy-three years and eleven months. By act of Parliament his body was interred in Westminster Abbey. The members of the Houses of Peers and Commons followed his remains, the prince of Gloucester, the lord-chancellor, and the speaker of the Commons serving as pall-bearers. Public meetings were held in York and in Hull. The county of York builded in his honor an asylum for the blind. The city of his birth erected him a monument. In the West Indies and in New York the colored people put on mourning at the news of his decease. The memory of this just man will continue a blessing to all generations. His deeds as a Christian statesman, proceeding from the spirit and power of his Master, his heroic, Christ-like philanthropy, his benefactions to humanity, will endure to the end of time.—H. V'M.

LIFE XV. ELIZABETH FRY.

A. D. 1780—A. D. 1845. FRIEND, — ENGLAND.

IN a noble old house in Norwich, England, was born, May 21, 1780, Elizabeth Gurney. One of a troop of glad children, she seemed, when compared with her six sisters, little favored. She was a weak, nervous, reserved child, inclined to be stubborn, and full of the spirit of contradiction, and was by her own people regarded as stupid. Her timorousness clouded for her the joys of childhood. Even her impressions of religion became gloomy, especially by her dwelling upon such stories as Abraham's offering up Isaac. Human misery, too, which she saw every day in a poor cripple, did not fail to produce its painful effects upon the anxious childish heart. To be assured that the life of this child would tend to the glory of God and the well-being of men was possible only to the heart of the mother. Even she never dreamed that this unattractive being would be a leader in benefaction to mankind.

The loving atmosphere of her home, and the taste for natural beauty which was awakened by the thoughtful mother in her children at their

country house, had an enlivening influence upon the reserved girl. The precious jewel of a heart strong in peace and joy not even her mother could give her daughter, for it must come from God only. The parents were lacking, too, in Christian knowledge, as was common in that day, when the death shadow of unbelief covered the earth. Otherwise, the child's heart might have been brought to repose in the love of the Saviour, who bade the little children come unto Him. After her mother's death, Elizabeth, then twelve years of age, was left by her busied, unthinking father to herself and to a social circle in which she might attain to a high degree of culture, but hardly to the peace of God. Rather she was in danger of making shipwreck of her faith.

She became very accomplished, learned in many arts and sciences, a skilled horsewoman, charming in song and in the home dance. Her slender, delicate form, her luxuriant light hair, and her sweet expression made her attractive. Dazzling as a butterfly, hovering above a bed of flowers, she was yet hungry in soul. She sought God in nature. The flowers faded, the summer fled, and amid all its witness of the eternal power and godhead nature failed to answer her soul seeking light and strength for the future. She was left sighing. She sought truth and virtue. But where should she find a protector for her soul, tossed amid the perilous billows of life? She read the Bible, but where was the key to unlock its meaning? It was a dark enigma. Everything was vanity and folly; she doubted everything and despised herself.

Her life-boat came from the other side of the Atlantic, when the Is turned to a young Quaker preacher, William Savery, crossed from the better life. United States to England (1798). He visited Norwich, where his sermons kindled the young girl's heart, unhappy in its doubt and longing, with the ardor of a new love. She was for the first time full of the thought, God is. She began to understand the Bible; she was filled with a spirit of calm devotion. Her father, observing the change, sent her to London, to mingle in its excitements. While delighted and instructed, she was not satisfied. She resolved the more thoroughly to put away worldly folly without forsaking either her duties or her innocent pleasures. Her gentle heart had never rejoiced in anything so much as in beneficence. She now, with redoubled zeal, devoted herself to loving efforts near and far away. Now she comes, clad in scarlet riding habit, with a little basket of cordials to the foreign widow of an army officer, and is off upon her fleet horse, leaving no name or address. Now she is comforting her servant upon a sick-bed with a hope of heaven. Now as a nurse she waits upon a neighbor's sick-bed. Once more she is found teaching and training a class of seventy poor children, whom she has gathered up in the vicinity for a Sunday-school.

One thing was lacking. It is not good for any person to be alone, certainly not for a Christian, and least of all for a Christian called with

an especial calling. Christ's spirit is a social spirit. One who has it must either found a society, or be allied to some existing society. Wherever there is a living church, the new-born spirit does well in hastening to embrace it and to be embraced by it. Away from the church, souls will grow peculiar. Healthy souls will choose even a faulty church as the lesser evil. Elizabeth Gurney, with healthy spirit, ^{Becomes a} wanting a sure support against a doubting world and a dead ^{Friend.} church, and influenced by the example of her ancestors and of the teacher who had led her to believe, and also by her family relations, entered the Society of Friends, or, as they are called sometimes, the Quakers.

Opposing all outside show, the Quakers are a plain, modest, quiet, benevolent, and active Christian people. In an endeavor to avoid turning the mind by outward forms from inner needs, which are alone important, they forego baptism with water and the bread and wine of the Supper. They seek the inner baptism of the Holy Ghost and of fire, the inner enjoyment of the bread of heaven for their spiritual refreshment. They have no clergymen. Every converted soul, man or woman, is allowed to pray or teach, when moved thereto by the Spirit. They oppose all oaths and wars. They wear a simple uniform dress, seldom uncover the head, and address every one, be he a prince or a beggar, with the fraternal "thou." This society, so well suited to oppose pomp and folly with modest humility, was especially adapted for Elizabeth Gurney's mind, called as she was by an extraordinary calling. When she had learned to move in the coat of mail afforded her by the Quaker forms, she was rid of a thousand embarrassments, cares, and hindrances, which otherwise would have tried a nature as true as hers, even if she had been a hundred times less fearful than she was, and would have made it unhappy in the midst of an unloving and unbelieving world.

After a long struggle she made up her mind fully, put off all her gay colors and ornaments, and, not to be disturbed in heart, resigned dancing, and with some reluctance singing also, yet without condemning others who were devoted to music; put on the slate-colored garments, hid her luxuriant blonde hair in a black veil, and went to meet, at first with much fear, her loved relatives, her astonished acquaintances, and strangers, all of whom she quickly won over. Elizabeth Gurney was now twenty years old, a lovable image, every way of a simple nature, glorified through grace. She became the wife of a wealthy merchant of London, Joseph Fry, who was also a member of the Society of Friends.

Elizabeth Fry, though of a small sect, may be deemed a leader of the evangelical church, as well as of the best men and women of her time, on account of her works, which were known through all Europe. For the baptism of the Spirit pervading her after-life, so full of love of God and man, may supply the lack of the outer forms of the sacraments.

She kept a most exact conscience as well as a most enlarged heart. She exalted Christ crucified by her gentle faith, free from proselyting selfishness, before all who opposed, were they churchly or non-churchly, Protestant or Catholic, Jews or pagans, converted or unconverted, bond or free.

Ere we follow her path in the world, let us see her as a wife and a ^{Mother of eleven} mother. The tender plant must first strike root deeply in the children. . . . narrow home soil before it can grow to be a tree of righteousness to the Lord's glory, before it can send out fruitful boughs over his walls to revive sinking bodies and pining souls. In her married life of forty-two years, very happy amid many trials, Elizabeth Fry bore eleven children. She had seven sons, eleven daughters and daughters-in-law, and twenty-five grandchildren. What cares, anxieties, watchings by night, and pains came with all these! More than once her slight frame gave way under the load of her duties as wife, mother, daughter, and sister, as she was forced to hasten from one sick couch to another, from one dying bed to another; but her strength was made perfect in weakness. Nor did she lose courage or force when, through the bankruptcy of a foreign house, her means were so diminished that she had to live very narrowly, giving up her country place. She maintained through every tempest the calmness of her spirit and her unwearying love, which could become poor to make others rich.

In her ever-enlarging family her great natural gifts, gracious and loving, were seen in growing power. Business skill, knowledge of human nature, quick perception, gentle but strong governing ability, were hers, enabling her to rule her family quietly. She found the source of her efficiency and calmness in God's Word and in prayer. "As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord," was made by her the corner-stone of her structure. She was first Mary, but she knew how to be Martha in kitchen, cellar, and pantry. In laying the foundation of her Christian household by the strict observance of the Sabbath, for the good of both the soul and the body, she was helped by the custom of her country. But the best Sabbath Christianity, the most holy Sabbath devotions, were not enough for her. Every morning she called all the members of her family, her guests, and servants to family worship. She did not cease, from timidity or fear of offense, until she had firmly established this habit in her household. Thus were reared the two main pillars of the Christian home, proper care of servants and right training of children; nor can the latter be attained without the former. Elizabeth Fry remembered her motherly duty as well as her priestly duty towards her servants. We find her tarrying at the dying bed of an aged servant with help for her body and her soul. We hear her, with her Catholic gardener, whom for twenty years she sent every Sunday to his mass while she went to her church, speaking to him in his sick days and well days of Christ, the

only Saviour. She formed societies for the benefit of the serving class. On her journeys to inns or to the homes of friends she remembered the servants with kind remarks, books, and prayers. Sparing no pains in caring for her servants, she could courageously bring up her children to serve in the household, or with strong and gentle hand to rule. Placing regard for those in her own home first, she could go forward without fear or shame, and lay her hand upon the wounds of the world outside. By being a complete home-mother she could grow to be a mother for the half of mankind.

By her model housekeeping, her conscientious distribution of her time, her growth in faith and in prayer without ceasing, Elizabeth Fry advanced to that usefulness which she continued for forty years, saying, "Not my will, but thine, be done." She went, taking hours even when her oldest child was seriously ill, and made her accustomed rounds in the worst portions of London, seeking out poor women who had asked her help. She had learned that without close inspection of each case she could not help the poor effectively. Often she would find, upon going to the street and number named, that she had been deceived, and yet would discover there new cases of genuine want. Her eyes grew keen for perceiving human woe, and her ears for human sighs. Passing along the street upon the arm of a friend, at one time, Elizabeth Fry suddenly left him to go to a woman who appeared to her troubled. The woman asked no help, and preferred to shun notice, but Elizabeth insisted upon her telling her secret. "Thou seemest in great distress. I pray thee tell me the reason of thy grief; perhaps I can relieve thee." There was no answer. Elizabeth, leading her to her own brother's, near by, used loving looks and words, until the unfortunate creature told her that she was making her way to the Thames. She was not in want of money, but of wise Christian advice, and this Elizabeth Fry gave her, saving her both soul and body. Upon one cold winter's day Elizabeth Fry was asked for alms by a poor woman on the street. Excited to pity by the child in her arms, suffering from whooping-cough, but stirred to suspicion by her evasive answers, Elizabeth said that she would go home with her and give her aid. The woman declined, but Elizabeth followed her with firm step into a secluded alley, where, in a dark, foul hut, she found a large number of little sick, neglected children. The next morning she sent the physician of her own children thither, who found the house empty. The neighbors told her that the poor children of the parish were given to this woman, and were kept by her miserably for the sake of getting alms, and even of shortening their lives, when by concealing their deaths she could still obtain the allowance for their support. These were Elizabeth Fry's pleasures and excitements outside her own house. When escaping from the toil and noise of London to her country home, her children, and her

Key to her public success.

Her work in the country.

flowers, she still attended to the needs of the poor and the sick. She kept a large stock of Bibles and religious reading, of cotton and woolen garments, and of medicines. She provided a hundred persons with soup in the cold of winter. Opposite her home was a dwelling with pointed gables and wide door-way, in which lived two aged sisters. She gained entrance to both their house and their heart. She carried sunshine to their perishing spirits by her gentle words from the Scriptures, and obtained their consent to the setting up of a girl's school for the parish in one of its rooms, she supplying an excellent teacher, and securing for it the support of the parish minister and of his wife. Our heroine found admission, too, to the dirty cottages of an Irish colony in the neighborhood, living in poverty and neglect, and labored to do them good. Caring for the sick; blessing the dying; adorning the poor coffin with the garland of evergreen; comforting the mourners; traversing the wretched street, with her garments well tucked up, amid the children and the pigs, up ruinous stairways and dark entries, bringing food, clothing, and the Word of God; seeking to bring the youth into school and under government, — these were the cares and pleasures of her life. She read to the people from the Bible which she carried; she gave every one the right word; she herself handled the sharp knife of the surgeon, administering vaccination to all in her neighborhood. Allowing no poor and forlorn ones to pass unhelped, she cared even for the wandering gypsies. She gave them medical prescriptions and advice, as well as warning and admonition to rescue them from their sinful and ruinous

Her work for forgotten classes. habits. The secret of taking care of poor people, she said, was taking care of poor people's souls. She had an eye

to the spiritual needs and dangers of the shepherds on the plain, the coast-watch on the shore, and the sailors on the seas. She founded a hundred libraries, to give these long-forgotten and greatly abandoned classes sound instruction and advice in things human and divine. For the shelterless people of the capital she sought warm lodgings, food, and clothes. In the watering-place, where she went for the baths, she helped form societies of men and women who felt called to be fathers and mothers to the poor. Genius, fidelity, self-sacrifice, and untiring Christian love marked the words and deeds of Elizabeth Fry, as she penetrated the depths of human woe. Bright example of what a weak woman can do in earnest imitation of Him who went about doing good! Remember, too, the care and sorrow in her own home, with its eleven children, its sick and dying ones, and its multiplied toils. She had, indeed, aid from her sisters and daughters, yet she was the leader. She made the helping of the poor a pleasure to her children. By her cheeriness, by showing confidence in her children, allowing them at as early an age as possible to act as responsible bestowers of alms, by impressing them by her words and acts that wealth is to be used and distributed

by its owners as stewards of God, she made the helping of the poor a pleasure to her sons and daughters. She was seen in the severest winter, when herself not strong, sitting in a wagon piled high with flannel garments, going to her poor Irish people, whither her children had preceded her to the glad distribution. She thus taught her family at home and abroad, in good and evil days, that it is so much more blessed to give than to receive.

Elizabeth Fry did enough privately, without letting her left hand know the deeds of her right hand, to excite thousands to ^{Leadership in} gratitude and wonder over such a rare benefactress. But ^{noted reforms.} she was not to be simply an angel of peace to a quiet neighborhood. Her love and fame were to go over the earth. She was to give a new life to one realm of human woe. In the beginning of this century, the prisons were almost everywhere places greatly neglected. In the prisoner people hardly saw the man, much less the Christ. Elizabeth Fry entered, upon February 16, 1813, the London Newgate Prison. She found there, in two halls and two rooms measuring a hundred and ninety square yards, three hundred women, tried and not tried, with no regard to their offenses, their former circumstances, or their age, all under the oversight of one man and his son. Acquaintances went in and out; many children were in the rooms, which served for cooking, washing, and sleeping. Their beds were the floor, with boards for their pillows. Some had hardly rags enough to cover their nakedness. With money, which they got by loud begging, they obtained gin to drink, sold within the very walls of the jail. Her ears were saluted with horrible oaths; everything was covered with dirt; the stench was intolerable. The chief warden of the prison, who never went into this depraved throng without a guard, wished to keep back Elizabeth Fry and her sister-in-law, Buxton, from entering, or at least to persuade them to lay aside their watches and purses. "I thank thee," said the former, "I am not afraid; I shall not lose anything." The one hundred and sixty unfortunates looked with amazement upon a visitor such as never was seen in the apartment before. Her lofty stature, the majesty and innocence of her countenance, laid a spell upon the rude women. They were touched by hearing her soft tones, as she said, "Ye appear very unhappy. Ye want clothes; would ye like if one should come and supply what is wanted?" "Yes; but who will trouble themselves for us?" "I am come hither with a wish to be useful to ye. If ye will sustain me, I hope to assist ye." She spoke then words of love and hope. When she was going away, they thronged around her: "Ah, you will not come back again?" "Yes, I will come," was the reply.

Her return to the prison was after four years of sore trial and home sorrow, which refined her spirit, and made it accept more completely the new duty. She let herself be locked up with the women in the jail, and with her clear voice and wonderful emphasis read to them Christ's parable

of the vineyard and of the eleventh-hour laborers. Some asked who Christ was; others thought that it was too late for them. Elizabeth now Her organizing ability. set up a school for the poor little children, asking the women to choose helpers for her. This won their mother hearts. They who had hitherto done nothing save beg, steal, quarrel, curse, sing, dance, wear men's clothes, and do everything that was shameful, listened to her whose good-will they recognized.

Elizabeth Fry soon joined with herself twelve other women of the Society of Friends in an "Association for the Improvement of the Female Convicts at Newgate." With their leader at their head, they stayed days at a time with the poor women, directing, instructing, and employing them. The occupation of their hands, the Bible which was impressed upon their hearts, and the discipline which was administered according to laws approved by the women themselves, and by overseers chosen by them, effected a most wholesome change in the prison. Women on the verge of the scaffold, or of transportation to Botany Bay, gave thanks to Elizabeth Fry. The prison overseer, the city courts, the ministry, and the Parliament were led to wonder at and recognize her work. Soon all England and half of Europe were asking advice of this heroine of a faith which worked by love. Her cares for convicts led her to attend to those discharged from prison, or transported beyond the sea. She spared neither strength, property, nor time. She cared little for luxuries when others lacked the barest necessities. She used every aid at hand. Her gentle, irresistible look and voice, which subdued the savage and the depraved, opened also the hearts and hands of relatives and of strangers.

Leads in work abroad. What she had done in London she gladly attempted throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, and also throughout France, Holland, Switzerland, Germany, and Denmark, in five extended journeys, laboring everywhere, in cottage or in palace, as she found entrance. The great of the world sought her acquaintance. She paid visits to kings, and received a visit from Frederick William Fourth of Prussia. She preferred to be with the poor and imprisoned, and sought the great only when she had "something good to say to them." She succeeded in alleviating sorrow in every land in which her presence or her name was known. People everywhere did reverence to the lofty form, wearing the long, plain Quaker dress, and the smooth, high, round cap, with the glossy hair worn short in front, the full round face, the fine features, and the lively, deep-set blue eyes. They beheld there an indescribable look of repose, simplicity, strength, and dignity; a bearing which, laying aside compliments and circumlocutions, was as kind and unassuming towards convicts as towards queens; in a word, a model of glorified Christian womanhood. Along a path leading through many joys and through more sufferings, Elizabeth Fry reached the goal. She went in the night of October 13, 1845, to the joy of her Lord.—H. V'M.

APPENDIX.

I.

ROLL OF WRITERS OF THE LIVES OF THE LEADERS OF OUR CHURCH UNIVERSAL.

EUROPEAN WRITERS.

F. A.	The Rev. Dr. F. AHLFELD, Pastor in Leipzig	<i>John Williams.</i>
F. A.	The Rev. Dr. FRIEDRICH ARNDT, Pastor in Berlin	<i>Anne Askew.</i>
C. B.	The Rev. Dr. C. BECKER, Pastor in Königsberg	<i>Wishart.</i>
C. B.	The Rev. Dr. C. BINDEMANN, Church Superintendent in Grimmen	<i>Monica, Augustine.</i>
B.	The Rev. Dr. BOUTERWEK, Director of Gymnasium, Elberfeld	<i>Columba, Aidan.</i>
C. F. B.	The Rev. J. C. F. BURK, Pastor in Echterdingen	<i>Bengel.</i>
D. E.	The Rev. Dr. DAVID ERDMANN, Church General Superintendent, Breslau	<i>Baxter.</i>
A. E. F.	The Rev. Dr. A. E. FRÖHLICH, Professor, Aarau, Switzerland	<i>Zwingle, Laborie.</i>
K. F.	The Rev. Dr. K. FROMMANN, Church General Superintendent in Petersburg	<i>Zeisberger.</i>
K. R. H.	The Rev. Dr. K. R. HAGENBACH, Professor of Theology, Basel, Switzerland	<i>Clement, Athanasius, Ecolampadius, Renata, Beza.</i>
J. H.	The Rev. J. HARTMANN, Dean in Tuttlingen	<i>Brentz.</i>
K. H.	The Rev. Dr. K. HASE, Professor of Theology in Jena	<i>Savonarola.</i>
F. R. H.	The Rev. Dr. F. R. HASSE, Professor of Theology in Bonn	<i>Anselm.</i>
F. H.	The Rev. Dr. FRED. HAUPT, Pastor in Gronau	<i>Hildegard.</i>
P. H.	The Rev. Dr. P. HENRY, Pastor in Berlin	<i>Calvin.</i>
H. H.	The Rev. Dr. H. HEPPE, Professor of Theology in Marburg, Cranmer, Hooper, William of Orange.	
L. H.	The Rev. Dr. L. HEUBNER, Director of Seminary, Wittenberg	<i>Luther.</i>
W. H.	The Rev. Dr. WILHELM HOFFMANN, Church General Superintendent, Berlin	<i>John of Monte Corvino.</i>
H.	The Rev. Dr. HUNDESHAGEN, Professor of Theology in Bonn	<i>Ursinus.</i>
C. H. K.	The Rev. Dr. CHRISTIAN H. KALKAR, Pastor in Copenhagen	<i>Egede.</i>
C. F. K.	The Rev. Dr. CHR. FR. KLING, Dean in Marbach	<i>Origen.</i>
F. W. K.	The Rev. Dr. FRED. W. KRUMMACHER, Court Preacher in Potsdam	<i>Lawrence, Chrysostom, Huss, Gerhardt, Oberlin.</i>
G. L.	The Rev. Dr. GOTTHARD LECHLER, Professor of Theology in Leipzig	<i>Bede, Wiclf, Oldcastle, Ridley.</i>
H. L.	The Rev. Dr. H. LEO, Professor of Philosophy in Halle	<i>Patrick.</i>
P. L.	The Rev. Dr. PETER LORIMER, Professor in Presbyterian College, London	<i>Hamilton.</i>
F. L.	The Rev. Dr. FRED. LÜBKER, Director of Gymnasium in Flensburg	<i>Columban, Boniface, Alfred.</i>

T. M.	The Rev. Dr. THOMAS MACCRIE, Professor in Presbyterian College, London	John Knox.
H. F. M.	Dr. H. F. MASSMANN, Professor of Philosophy in Berlin	Ulfilas.
H. V'M.	The Rev. H. VON MERZ, Church Prelate in Stuttgart, <i>Roussel, Schwartz, Martyn, Wilberforce, Fry.</i>	
C. B. M.	C. B. MOLL, Church General Superintendent, Königsberg	Wessel.
A. M.	The Rev. ADOLF MONOD, Pastor in Paris, France	Blandina.
A. N.	The Rev. Dr. AUGUST NEANDER, Professor of Theology in Berlin	<i>Bernard, Aquinas, Melanchthon.</i>
E. N.	E. NOELDECHEN, Head Teacher, Magdeburg	<i>Claudius.</i>
J. J. V'O.	The Rev. Dr. J. J. VAN OOSTERZEE, Professor of Theology in Utrecht	<i>Thomas à Kempis.</i>
J. C. T. O.	The Rev. Dr. J. C. T. OTTO, Professor of Theology in Vienna	<i>Cyril.</i>
R. P.	Dr. REINHOLD PAULI, Professor of Philosophy in Göttingen, <i>Alfred the Great.</i>	
F. P.	The Rev. Dr. FERDINAND PIPER, Professor of Theology, Berlin	<i>Polycarp.</i>
T. P.	The Rev. Dr. T. PRESSEL, Dean in Schorndorf	<i>Rabaut.</i>
F. R.	The Rev. Dr. F. RANKE, Director of Gymnasium, Berlin, <i>Perpetua, Hans Sachs, Peterson.</i>	
A. R.	The Rev. A. RISCHE, Pastor in Schwinkendorf	<i>King Louis.</i>
L. R.	The Rev. LOUIS ROGNON, Pastor in Paris	<i>Coligny.</i>
J. D. R.	The Rev. J. D. ROTHMUND, Pastor in St. Gall	<i>Gall.</i>
K. G. R.	The Rev. K. G. VON RUDLOFF, Cathedral Preacher in Nišky, <i>Guthrie, MacKail.</i>	
K. H. S.	The Rev. Dr. K. H. SACK, Chief Consistory Councilor, Bonn, <i>John Wesley.</i>	
C. S.	The Rev. Dr. C. SCHMIDT, Professor of Theology in Strassburg, <i>Remy, Tauler.</i>	
H. E. S.	The Rev. Dr. H. E. SCHMIEDER, Director of Seminary, Wittenberg . <i>Paphnutius, Spiridion, Ambrose, Jerome, Austin, Waldo, Magdalena Luther, Paleario, Zinzendorf.</i>	
K. S.	The Rev. Dr. K. SEMISCH, Professor of Theology in Berlin, <i>Ignatius, Justin, Irenæus.</i>	
C. W. S.	The Rev. Dr. C. W. STARSTEDT, Professor of Theology in Lund, Sweden	<i>Ansgar.</i>
A. T.	The Rev. Dr. AUGUST THOLUCK, Professor of Theology in Halle	<i>Spener, Francke.</i>
F. T.	The Rev. F. TRECHSEL, Pastor in Berne, Switzerland	<i>Farel.</i>
J. O. V.	The Rev. J. O. VAIHINGER, Cathedral Preacher in Cannstadt, <i>Gustavus Adolphus.</i>	
L. W.	The Rev. L. WIESE, Church Counselor in Berlin	<i>Cyprian.</i>

AMERICAN WRITERS.

H. C. A.	The Rev. Dr. H. C. ALEXANDER, Professor in Union Theological Seminary, Hampden-Sidney, Va.	Alexander.
R. B.	The Rev. Dr. ROBERT BEARD, Professor in Theological Seminary, Lebanon, Tenn.	Donnell.
C. W. B.	The Rev. Dr. C. W. BENNETT, Professor in Theological Department of Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.	Fisk.
W. M. B.	The Rev. Dr. W. M. BLACKBURN, Professor in Theological Seminary of Northwest, Chicago, Ill.	
S. L. C.	The Rev. Dr. S. L. CALDWELL, President of Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	Manning.
R. W. C.	The Rev. Dr. RUFUS W. CLARK, Pastor in Albany, N. Y.	Livingston.
H. F. C.	Mrs. HELEN FINNEY COX, Cincinnati, O.	Finney.
T. D.	The Rev. Dr. TIMOTHY DWIGHT, Professor in Theological School, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.	Dwight.
J. H. G.	The Rev. Dr. J. H. GOOD, Professor in Theological Department, Heidelberg College, Tiffin, O.	Schlatter

L. G.	The Rev. Dr. LEWIS GROUT, late Missionary to South Africa, W. Brattleboro, Vt.	Vanderkemp.
A. A. H.	The Rev. Dr. ARCH. A. HODGE, Professor in Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J.	Hodge.
S. H.	The Rev. Dr. SAMUEL HOPKINS, Professor in Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y.	Brewster, Hopkins.
Z. H.	The Rev. Dr. ZEPHANIAH HUMPHREYS, Professor in Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, O.	Edwards.
J. B. J.	The Rev. Dr. J. B. JETER, Editor of the <i>Religious Herald</i> , Richmond, Va.	Fuller.
H. J.	The Rev. Dr. HERRICK JOHNSON, Professor in Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y.	Barnes.
H. K.	Mrs. HELEN KENDRICK, Rochester, N. Y.	Judson.
H. L.	The Rev. Dr. HEMAN LINCOLN, Professor in Theological Seminary, Newton Centre, Mass.	Wayland.
H. M. M.	The Rev. Dr. HENRY M. MACCRACKEN, Pastor in Toledo, O.,	Isabella Graham.
J. M. P.	The Rev. Dr. J. M. PENDLETON, Pastor in Upland, Pa.	Peck.
W. K. P.	The Rev. Dr. W. K. PENDLETON, President of Bethany College, Bethany, W. Va.	Campbell.
B. F. P.	The Rev. B. F. PRINCE, Professor in Wittenberg College, Springfield, O.	Muhlenberg.
W. B. S.	The Rev. Dr. W. BACON STEVENS, Bishop of the Pennsylvania Diocese of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Philadelphia .	White.
H. B. S.	Mrs. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, Hartford, Conn.	Lyman Beecher.
T. O. S.	The Rev. Dr. THOMAS O. SUMMERS, Professor of Theology in Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.	MacKendree.
J. W.	The Rev. Dr. J. WEAVER, Bishop of the United Brethren, Dayton, O.	Otterbein.
T. W.	The Rev. Dr. THOMAS WEBSTER, Pastor in Newbury, Canada .	Asbury.
S. W. W.	The Hon. S. WELLS WILLIAMS, LL. D., Professor of Chinese Literature, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.	Morrison.
R. Y.	The Rev. R. YEAKEL, Bishop of the Evangelical Association, Naperville, Ill.	Albright.
D. R. K.	The Rev. Dr. DAVID R. KERR, Professor in Theological Seminary, Alleghany, Pa.	Pressly.
A. W.	The Rev. Dr. A. WEBSTER, Pastor in Baltimore, Md.	Stockton.

II.

COMPLETE ROLL OF LIVES.¹

JANUARY.		FEBRUARY.		MARCH.	
	A. D.		A. D.		A. D.
1. New Year		1. IGNATIUS	107	1. Suidbert	713
2. Martyrs of the Books	303	2. Mary [Purification] Bible		2. JOHN WES-	
3. Gordius, Martyr	303	3. ANSGAR	865	LEY	1791
4. Titus	Bible	4. Rabanus Maurus	856	3. Balthilde	680
5. Simeon	Bible	5. SPENER	1705	4. WISHART	1546
6. Christ and Wise Men	Bible	6. Amandus	679	5. AQUINAS	1274
7. Widukind	785	7. Geo. Wagner	1527	6. Fridolin	514
8. Severinus	482	8. Mary Andreä	1632	7. PERPETUA	202
9. Catharine Zell	1562	9. HOOPER	1555	8. URSINUS	1583
10. Paul the Hermit	340	10. Oettinger	1782	9. CYRIL	869
11. Fructuosus	259	11. Hugo St. Victor	1142	10. Martyrs in Armenia	320
12. John Chastellain	1525	12. Jane Grey	1554	11. Hoseus	1566
13. Hilary of France	368	13. SCHWARTZ	1798	12. Gregory	604
14. Felix	256	14. Bruno	1008	13. Roderick	857
15. John Laski	1560	15. Von Loh	1561	14. Matilda	968
16. Geo. Spalatin	1545	16. Desubas	1746	15. CRANMER	1556
17. Antony the Hermit	356	17. HAMILTON	1528	16. Heribert	968
18. Jno. Blackader	1686	18. SYMEON	107	17. PATRICK	460
19. { Babylas	250	19. Mesrob	441	18. Alexander	251
Isabella	1526	20. Sadoth	346	19. Mary and Martha	Bible
20. { Fabian	250	21. Meinrad	863	20. Ambrose of Siena	1287
Sebastian	304	22. Didymus	395	21. Benedict	543
21. Agnes	304	23. Ziegenbalg	1719	22. Nicolas the Hermit	1488
22. Vincentius	304	24. Matthew	Bible	23. Wolfgang	1566
23. Isaiah	Bible	25. Olevian	1587	24. Florentius	1400
24. Timothy	Bible	26. Haller	1536	25. Mary [Annuncia-	
25. Paul [Conversion]	Bible	27. Bucer	1551	tion]	Bible
26. POLYCARP	167	28. JOHN OF		26. Liudger	809
27. CHRYSOSTOM	407	MONTE COR-		27. Rupert	718
28. Charlemagne	814	VINO	1306	28. Von Goch	1475
29. Juventus, etc.	363	29. Ethelbert [assigned		29. Eustace	625
30. Henry Müller	1675	also to 24th Feb-		30. Heermann	1647
31. HANS SACHS	1576	ruary].		31. Ernst of Saxony	1675

¹ As edited in Germany by Dr. Ferdinand Piper, corresponding with the names for all the days of the year in the *Improved Evangelical Calendar*. The lives translated into English and edited in the present work are printed in capitals. The figures after names indicate the year of some principal event in the life referred to, usually of its beginning or close.

COMPLETE ROLL OF LIVES—*Continued.*

APRIL.		MAY.		JUNE.	
	A. D.		A. D.	A. D.	
1. Fritigil	400	1. Philip and James	Bible	1. OBERLIN	1826
2. Theodocia	307	2. ATHANASIUS	373	2. BLANDINA	177
3. Tersteegen	1769	3. MONICA	388	3. Clotilda	540
4. AMBROSE	397	4. Florian	300	4. Quirinus	300
5. Scrivener	1693	5. Frederick the Wise	1525	5. BONIFACE	755
6. Albert Dürer	1528	6. John of Damascus	754	6. Norbert	1134
7. PETERSON	1552	7. { Domatilla	300	7. GERHARDT	1676
8. Chemnitz	1586	{ Otto	973	8. FRANCKE	1727
9. Von Westen	1727	8. Stanislaus	1079	9. COLUMBA	597
10. Fulbert	1028	9. Gregory Nazianz	390	10. Barbarossa	1190
11. Leo the Great	461	10. Heuglin	1527	11. Barnabas	Bible
12. Sabas	372	11. John Arndt	1621	12. RENATA	1575
13. JUSTIN	161	12. Meletius	381	13. Le Febvre	1702
14. Eccard	1611	13. Servatius	383	14. Basil	379
15. Dach	1659	14. Pachomius	348	15. WILBER-	
16. WALDO	1197	15. Moses	Bible	FORCE	1833
17. Mappalicus	250	16. Five Lausanne Students	1553	16. BAXTER	1691
18. Luther [at Worms]	1521	17. Joachim	1202	17. TAULER	1361
19. MELANC-		18. Martyrs under Valens	370	18. Pamphilus	309
THON	1560	19. ALCUIN	804	19. { PAPHNU-	
20. Bugenhagen	1558	20. Herberger	1627	{ TIUS	325
21. ANSELM	1109	21. Constantine and Helena	337	Council of Nice	325
22. ORIGEN	254	22. Castus and Emilius	300	20. Martyrs of Prague	1621
George, killer of		23. SAVONAROLA	1498	21. CLAUDIUS	1815
{ Dragons	200	24. Cazalla	1559	22. Gottschalk	1066
Adelbert	997	25. AUSTIN OF ENGLAND	608	23. Gottfried Arnold	1714
24. Wilfrid	709	26. BEDE	735	24. John the Baptist	Bible
25. Mark	Bible	27. CALVIN	1564	25. Augsburg Confes-	
26. Trudpert	643	28. Lanfranc	1089	sion	1580
27. Catelin	1554	29. ZEISBERGER	1808	26. John Andreä	1654
28. Myconius	1546	30. Jerome of Prague	1416	27. Seven Sleepers	250
29. Berquin	1529	31. Joachim Neander	1780	28. IRENÆUS	202
30. Calixt	1656			29. Peter and Paul	Bible
				30. Lull	1315

COMPLETE ROLL OF LIVES—*Continued.*

JULY.	A. D.	AUGUST.	A. D.	SEPTEMBER.	A. D.
1. Martyrs at Brussels	1523	1. Maccabees	Apocrypha	1. Anna	Bible
2. Mary [Visitation]	Bible	2. Martyrs under Nero	64	2. Mamas	274
3. Otto of Bamberg	1139	3. Thorp	1407	3. HILDEGARD	1197
3. { PALEARIO	1570	4. Käser	1527	4. Ida von Herzfeld	820
4. Ulrich of Augsburg	973	5. Salzburgers	1731	5. Mallio	1553
5. OLDCASTLE	1418	6. Christ [Transfiguration]	Bible	6. Waibel	1525
6. HUSS	1415	7. Nonna	374	7. Spengler	1534
7. Willibald	786	8. Hormisdas	421	8. Corbinian	730
8. Kilian	689	9. Numidicus	258	9. Paschal	1560
9. Ephraim of Syria	378	10. { LAWRENCE	70	10. Speratus	1551
Canute	1036	Jerusalem Destroyed		11. BRENTZ	1570
10. { WILLIAM OF		11. Gregory of Utrecht	775	12. Peloquin	1553
ORANGE	1584	12. Anselm of Havelberg	1158	13. FAREL	1565
11. Placidus	630	13. ZINZENDORF	1760	14. { CYPRIAN	258
12. Henry of Germany	1024	14. GUTHRIE	1661	Dante	1321
13. Eugenius	505	15. Mary	Bible	15. Grumbach	1554
14. Bonaventura	1274	16. John the Wise	1532	16. Euphemia	311
15. Ansver	1066	17. Gerhard	1637	17. Lambert	709
16. ANNE ASKEW	1546	18. Grotius	1645	18. Spangenberg	1792
17. Martyrs of Scillita	200	19. Sebald	800	19. Thomas St. Paul	1551
18. Arnulf	640	20. BERNARD	1157	20. MAGDALENA	
19. Louisa Henrietta	1667	21. Moravian Missions	1732	LUTHER	1542
20. Marteilhe	1723	22. Symphorianus	180	21. Matthew	Bible
21. Eberhard	1496	23. COLIGNY	1572	22. Mauritius	302
22. Mary Magdalene	Bible	24. Bartholomew	Bible	23. LABORIE	[Five
23. Gottfried of Hamelle	1552	25. LOUIS	1270	Martyrs]	1555
24. THOMAS À		26. ULFILAS	338	24. Moser	1785
KEMPIS	1471	27. Jovinian	400	25. { RABAUT	1795
25. James	Bible	28. AUGUSTINE	430	Peace of Augsburg	1555
26. Christopher		29. John Baptist Be-		26. Lioba	779
27. Palmarius	1200	headed	Bible	27. Graveron	1557
28. Bach	1750	30. CLAUDIUS	839	28. Cologne Martyrs	1529
29. Olaf	1030	31. AIDAN	651	29. Michael	Bible
30. WESSEL	1489			30. JEROME	420
31. Schade	1698				

COMPLETE ROLL OF LIVES—*Continued.*

OCTOBER.		NOVEMBER.		DECEMBER.
	A. D.		A. D.	A. D.
1. REMY	545	1. All Saints	1. Eligius	659
2. Schmid	1564	2. Victorinus	2. Ruysbroeck	1381
3. Ewalds	695	3. Pirmin	3. Groot	1384
4. Francis	1226	4. BENGEL	4. Gerhard of Zütphen	1298
5. Carnesecchi	1567	5. EGEDE	5. Crispina	304
6. Henry Albert	1651	6. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS	6. Nicolas of Myra	400
7. BEZA	1605	7. Willibrord	7. { Odontius	1605
8. Grosthead	1253	8. Willehad	{ Hiller	1769
9. Dionysius	Bible	9. Staupitz	8. Rinkard	1649
10. Jonas	1555	10. LUTHER	9. Schmolck	1737
11. ZWINGLE	1531	11. Martin of Tours	10. Eber	1569
12. Bullinger	1575	12. Von Mornay	11. Henry of Zütphen	1524
13. ELIZ. FRY	1845	13. Arcadius	12. { SPIRIDION	325
14. RIDLEY	1555	14. Vermigli	{ Vicelin	1154
15. Aurelia	500	15. Keppler	Odilia	720
16. GALL	635	16. Creuziger	13. { Berthold	1272
17. Edict of Nantes [revoked]	1685	17. Bernward	Dioscurus	250
18. Luke	Bible	18. Gregory of Armenia	15. Christiana	330
19. Bruno of Cologne	965	19. Elizabeth of Hesse	16. Adelheid	999
20. Lambert	1530	20. JOHN WILLIAMS	17. Sturm	779
21. Hilary the Hermit	372	21. COLUMBAN	18. Seckendorf	1692
22. Hedwig	1243	22. GECOLAMPA	19. Clement of Egypt	220
23. HENRY MAR-TYN	1812	DIUS	20. Abraham	Bible
Arethas	522	23. CLEMENT	21. Thomas	Bible
24. { Peace of Westphalia	1648	24. JOHN KNOX	22. MACKAIL	1666
25. John Hess	1547	25. Catharine of Egypt	23. Du Bourg	1559
26. Frederick the Elector	1576	26. Conrad of Constanz	24. Adam, Eve	Bible
27. Frumentius	356	27. Margaret Blaarer	25. Christmas	Bible
28. Simon and Jude	Bible	28. ROUSSSEL	26. Stephen	Bible
29. ALFRED THE GREAT	900	29. Saturninus	27. John	Bible
30. Sturm	1553	30. Andrew	28. Innocents	Bible
31. Luther's Theses	1517		29. David	Bible
			30. Christopher [Duke]	1568
			31. JOHN WICLIF	1384

III.

STATISTICS OF OUR CHURCH UNIVERSAL

BY DENOMINATIONS AND COUNTRIES, SHOWING, FOR THE WHOLE EARTH, THE NUMBER OF CONGREGATIONS PROFESSING THE CHRISTIAN NAME.

AMERICA, OCEANICA, AND AFRICA.

	United States.	Canada.	Other lands of N. A.	South America.	Oceanica.	Africa.
1. Lutheran	3,883	140	-	-	-	{ 112
2. Reformed (German)	1,847	-	-	-	-	-
3. Reformed (Dutch)	506	-	-	-	-	-
4. Presbyterian	7,157	†733	†25	†19	398	207
5. Presbyterian, United	783	-	-	-	-	20
6. Presbyterian, Cumb.	1,872	-	-	-	-	-
7. Episcopal	2,980	†546	†10	-	200	50
8. Baptist	†14,954	710	166	-	135	54
9. Methodist Episcopal	†18,304	†267	-	8	-	-
10. Methodist	12,010	1,385	-	-	†801	100
11. Congregational	3,833	†90	-	-	100	1000
12. Evangelical Association	1,854	†50	-	-	-	-
13. United Brethren	1,442	†30	-	-	-	-
14. Disciples	2,000	†100	-	-	-	-
All others	1,000	100	-	-	-	-

UNREFORMED ORGANIZATIONS.

1. Roman Catholic	6,920	†1,012	*5,000	*8,000	-	-
2. Greek Catholic	2	-	-	-	-	-
3. Old Catholic	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Armenian	-	-	-	-	-	-
5. Nestorian	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Jacobite	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. Copt	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. Abyssinian	-	-	-	-	-	*8,000

EUROPE.

	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Holland and Belgium.	Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.	Russia.
1. Lutheran	-	-	-	*320	*7,754	*2,000
2. Reformed (German)	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Reformed (Dutch)	-	-	-	*1,700	-	-
4. Presbyterian	1,856	2,555	601	-	-	-
5. Presbyterian, United	-	526	-	-	-	40
6. Presbyterian, Cumb.	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. Episcopal	4,000	134	400	-	-	-
8. Baptist	2,501	90	29	*115	289	9
9. Methodist Episcopal	-	-	-	11	-	-
10. Methodist	5,238	82	†208	-	-	-
11. Congregational	3,069	192	30	10	-	-
12. Evangelical Association	-	-	-	-	-	-
13. United Brethren	-	-	-	-	-	-
14. Disciples	437	-	-	-	-	-
All others	-	-	-	-	-	-

UNREFORMED ORGANIZATIONS.

1. Roman Catholic	*1,261	117	3,500	*6,878	*3	*6,700
2. Greek Catholic	-	-	-	-	-	*55,000
3. Old Catholic	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Armenian	-	-	-	-	-	-
5. Nestorian	-	-	-	-	-	170
6. Jacobite	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. Copt	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. Abyssinian	-	-	-	-	-	-

The † denotes number of pastors, instead of number of congregations.

The * denotes number of congregations estimated one for every thousand of population.

EUROPE (*Continued*).

	Austria.	Italy.	Switzerland	Germany.	France.	Other Lands.
1. Lutheran	*1,250	-	-	¹ { 19,700 }	450	-
2. Reformed (German)	-	-	*1,000	{ 230 }	-	-
3. Reformed (French)	-	-	*500	-	*586	12
4. Presbyterian	2,075	56	-	-	-	-
5. Presbyterian, United	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Presbyterian, Cumb.	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. Episcopal	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. Baptist	-	20	8	86	12	12
9. Methodist Episcopal	-	-	-	-	-	-
10. Methodist	-	-	-	5	-	-
11. Congregational	-	-	-	10	-	-
12. Evangelical Association	-	-	-	29	-	-
13. United Brethren	-	-	-	-	-	-
14. Disciples	-	-	-	-	-	-
All others	-	-	-	-	-	-

UNREFORMED ORGANIZATIONS.

1. Roman Catholic	*27,904	*26,725	*1,085	12,000	*38,500	21,209
2. Greek Catholic	*3,053	*5	-	5	-	12,022
3. Old Catholic	-	-	-	121	-	2,000
4. Armenian	-	-	-	-	-	-
5. Nestorian	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Jacobite	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. Copt	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. Abyssinian	-	-	-	-	-	-

ASIA.

	West Asia and Persia.	India, Burmah, and Siam.	China.	Japan.	Rest of Asia.	Total.
1. Lutheran	-	68	-	-	-	35,425
2. Reformed (German)	-	15	18	-	-	2,722
3. Reformed (Dutch & Fr'ch)	-	10	7	13	-	3,384
4. Presbyterian	27	80	45	5	-	15,382
5. Presbyterian, United	-	10	3	8	-	1,359
6. Presbyterian, Cumb.	-	-	-	-	-	1,372
7. Episcopal	-	-	-	-	-	7,360
8. Baptist	1	526	20	2	27	17,968
9. Methodist Episcopal	-	43	{ 51 }	5	-	18,665
10. Methodist	-	40	{ 30 }	-	-	9,299
11. Congregational	-	75	50	-	-	7,984
12. Evangelical Association	-	-	-	-	-	1,383
13. United Brethren	-	-	-	-	-	1,472
14. Disciples	-	-	-	-	-	2,537
All others	-	-	-	-	-	*2,000
					Grand Total	128,452

UNREFORMED ORGANIZATIONS.

1. Roman Catholic	-	-	-	-	-	*201,000
2. Greek Catholic	-	-	-	-	-	*71,000
3. Old Catholic	-	-	-	-	-	121
4. Armenian	*30	-	-	-	-	*12,022
5. Nestorian	*185	-	-	-	-	*165
6. Jacobite	200	-	-	-	-	*200
7. Copt	-	-	-	-	-	{ 3,000 }
8. Abyssinian	-	-	-	-	-	-

¹ Of these, all but 1,500 are "Evangelical," and include both Lutheran and Reformed.

The * denotes number of congregations estimated one for every thousand of population.

The above Table of Statistics of the church throughout the earth by denominations and congregations has been constructed (no similar table being known) on the latest denominational reports at hand, or upon the statements of cyclopædias. It of necessity is very imperfect, yet may serve to show in what lands each denomination prevails, and also to indicate the slight degree in which some portions of the globe have been possessed by the church. Possibly it may serve beside to suggest to some student of statistics the preparation of a like table of greater fullness and accuracy. — H. M. M.

IV.

INDEX OF ONE THOUSAND BIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATIONS, FOR THE USE OF THE PREACHER AND OF THE TEACHER IN THE SABBATH-SCHOOL.

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